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“Where is *Vuokatti*?”

Proper Names as Culture-Specific References in Two
English Translations of Aleksis Kivi's *Seitsemän veljestä*

Master's Thesis

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TIIVISTELMÄ:

Tämä tutkimus tarkastelee kahta *Seitsemän veljeks*en englanninnosta niiden julkaisun aikaisia kulttuurisia taustoja vasten DTS:n (Descriptive Translation Studies) ja manipulaa-tioteorian näkökulmasta. Tutkimusmateriaalin muodostivat lähtötekstin erisnimet sekä niitä vastaavat nimet romaanin englanninnoksissa. Erisinimiä tarkasteltiin ennen kaikkea kulttuurisidonnaisina viittauksina eli lähdekulttuurin ”merkkeinä”, joihin sisältyy ensi-sijaisesti vain suomalaiselle lukijakunnalle tuttuja merkityksiä ja miellelyhtymiä, ja joiden siirtäminen suomesta englantiin tuo mukanaan väistämättömiä käännösongelmia.

Vuonna 1929 julkaistun käännöksen oletettiin pyrkivän säilyttämään erisnimet sellaisina kuin ne ovat lähdetekstissä ja näin ollen painottamaan nimien suomalaisuutta. Vuonna 1991 julkaistun käännöksen puolestaan oletettiin joko liittävän alkuperäisiin suomalaisiin nimiin englanninkielisiä osia tai selityksiä, niin että nimien suomalaisuus tulisi kohdeyleisölle helpommin lähestyttäväksi, tai luovan kokonaan uusia englanninkielisiä nimiä, niin että nimien suomalaisuus häivytetään kokonaan. Käännösten toisistaan poikkeavat tavat välittää lähdetekstin keskeisiä ominaispiirteitä kuten kielen arkaaisuutta sekä suomalaisia sananlaskuja tukivat lähtöolettamuksia.

Tutkimuksessa selvisi, että vuoden 1991 käännös painottaa lähtöolettamuksen mukaisesti nimien suomalaisuuden tekemistä helpommin lähestyttäväksi pääasiassa amerikan-suomalaisista koostuvalle kohdeyleisölle. Vuoden 1929 käännös luo kuitenkin useimmiten uusia englanninkielisiä nimiä, ja näin ollen oletamus, jonka mukaan aikaisempi käännös noudattaisi alkuperäiset nimet säilyttävää globaalia käännösstrategiaa, osoittautui vääräksi. Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavatkin, että edes suomalaiskansallisesti tulkittua klassikko-teosta, joka käännettiin suomalaisen kulttuurin vaikutuspiirissä aikana, jolloin suomalaisen vientikulttuurin suomalaisuutta säännönmukaisesti korostettiin, ei esitetty kohdeyleisölle absoluuttisen suomalaisena.

AVAINSANAT: Aleksis Kivi, proper names in translation, culture-specificity in translation

1 INTRODUCTION

One of the first novels ever written in Finnish, Aleksis Kivi's *Seitsemän veljestä* (*Seven Brothers*) has come to occupy a position within the Finnish literary field as one of the most revered depictions of the nation. Although set in the 19th-century rural Finland, it is still regarded as an epitome of the national character and a matchless description of Finnish culture and identity. In translation, however, a literary work is inevitably detached from its original cultural surroundings and therefore bound to lose at least some of its meaning that is conveyed by references specific to the source culture. Theoretically, a translation can treat the original culture-specific references in two ways: it can either highlight or hide their foreign origin. When a work originating in a minor literature, such as *Seitsemän veljestä*, is translated into a major language, such as English, or for a hegemonic market, such as the Anglo-American one, features signalling the foreign origin of the text tend to be hidden, or domesticated (Venuti 1995: 20–21). However, translations are always influenced by the time and place they are made in, and they are made for a specific target audience. Therefore it is possible that translations of the same source text that are made a considerable time apart from each other and under the influence of different cultures, deal with the foreignness of the original work and the culture-specific references it contains very differently.

Translation of Finnish literature into English is, in general, characterised by a low number of translated works, the majority of which tends to consist of titles that have attained the status of a classic in Finland. However, not all important Finnish works are translated into English. According to Börje Vähämäki (2000: 567), especially the works of early Finnish literature written around the turn of the 20th century are regarded as impossible to translate because they are considered being overly burdened by obstacles of explicit Finnishness. Indeed, in early Finnish realist literature, such as *Seitsemän veljestä*, cultural representation is usually intertwined in the work itself in such a way that separating the two is very difficult. These works are, as a whole, very culture-specific. However, the more concrete reason for the scarcity of English translations of Finnish literature can be traced to the

simple fact that a distant minor culture with a non-Indo-European language is from the point of view of a major culture an uninteresting source of translated literature.

Seitsemän veljestä, the only novel written by Aleksis Kivi, was first published in 1870. The novel represented a new kind of realist depiction which at the time was even regarded as a misrepresentation of the Finnish people (Lyytikäinen 1999: 341). As a *bildungsroman* it focuses on the life of seven sons of a peasant farmer from childhood until adulthood. As their parents die, the farm falls into decay, and the brothers escape the pressure of the surrounding society and the church. They let their home farm away for ten years and build a new one for themselves away from civilisation. There they learn, not only to earn their living through hard work but, most importantly, to read. After ten years they return to their home farm and become reconciled with their neighbours, the church and the legal authorities. In spite of the overall realist setting, *Seitsemän veljestä* is, unlike other Finnish realist literature of the 1880s and 1890s, not an “orthodox” realist novel in that it has an idealistic undertone and contains a great deal of humour (Lyytikäinen 1999: 341).

Seitsemän veljestä has been translated into English twice as a complete novel, in 1929 by Alex Matson and in 1991 by Richard Impola (Vähämäki 2000: 567). The publication context of the earlier translation is characterised by the emergence of an independent Finnish nation at the beginning of the 20th century, which not only attracted a great deal of attention to Finnish culture as a whole, but also to the classics of Finnish literature such as the folk epic *Kalevala* and the national novel *Seitsemän veljestä* in European countries such as Germany (Kujamäki 2000: 203–205). This created a need to translate these works into major European languages. However, as translators who would be fluent enough in Finnish were not many, it was customary at the beginning of the 20th century to have Finnish literature translated in Finland by translators who were practically native speakers of Finnish, and whose work was financially supported by organisations promoting national culture (ibid. 205). For example, Alex Matson, the author of the first English translation of *Seitsemän veljestä*, was a Finn who had spent his childhood in England (Pegasos 2002).

The publication context of the later translation is considerably different since at the end of the 20th century, there was no such large-scale interest in Finnish culture and literature, and the decision to re-translate *Seitsemän veljestä* was mostly made out of the personal interest of a limited number of individuals and without the financial support of national organisations. The later translation of *Seitsemän veljestä* was first published in New York by a small, non-profit association dedicated to publishing translated Finnish literature for a distinct audience consisting mainly of American Finns and their descendants (Aleksis Kivi – kansalliskirjailija 2007b; Finnish American Translators Association 2006). The situation is different compared with the earlier translation also in that the author of the later translation, Richard Impola, operated within the target culture and was not native speaker of Finnish.

Being translated more than once into English is quite exceptional for a work originally written in Finnish, and not many examples alongside *Seitsemän veljestä* and the Finnish folk epic *Kalevala* exist. In the cases of *Seitsemän veljestä* and *Kalevala* the symbolic function as national literature these works have been assigned is, perhaps, the most obvious reason for their translation as well as retranslation. Although they are generally regarded as important products of Finnish culture and indisputable classics of Finnish literature, the way in which they have been read as a depiction of Finnish society has changed greatly from the mid-19th century to the present. The changes in the way in which these classic works are understood as parts of Finnish culture, then, have created a need for “rewriting” them so that they reflect more up-to-date view of their culture of origin that is more up to date.

The study of “rewriting” culture-specificity in translation is in this thesis approached in terms of culture-specific references, or markers of culture-specificity. In literature, there are overt linguistic markers of culture-specificity, such as references to the realia and names. There are also indicators of culture-specificity that are less obvious, such as proverbs, idioms and other types of figurative language. However, the common feature of all culture-specific references is that their translation involves a challenge that is due to the

incompatibility of the cultural systems as well as the source and target languages (Aixelá 1996: 58).

The present study examines culture-specificity that is tied to the use of proper names in *Seitsemän veljestä*. Proper names constitute a clearly defined and easily accessible group of references to the Finnish source culture. In the overall structure of the novel, they have an important role of identifying the many different characters and settings. Proper names are, naturally, merely one possible aspect of culture-specificity of a novel. For example, Pekka Kujamäki's (1998: 26–27) study of the German translations of *Seitsemän veljestä* identified altogether 15 categories of overt linguistic markers of culture-specificity of which only two consisted of proper names.

The aim of the present study is to examine how one particular aspect of culture-specificity, that is proper names, is dealt with in two English translations of *Seitsemän veljestä* completed over 60 years apart. Since the earlier translation from 1929 was made in Finland and marketed for an extensive English-speaking audience as the national novel, it is assumed that the contemporary national romantic view of the original work would be emphasised and the Finnishness of the markers of Finnish culture, including proper names, would be highlighted. The later translation was made in the United States for a distinct target audience consisting of American Finns and their descendants, and is, in turn, assumed to deal with the culture-specificity of proper names in such a way that their Finnishness is made more accessible to the contemporary target audience. In other words, it is assumed that the earlier English translation of *Seitsemän veljestä* would retain the Finnishness of the original proper names more explicitly than the later translation.

The assumption is supported by Pekka Kujamäki's (1998) study of a number of German translations of *Seitsemän veljestä* ranging from 1921 to 1989. His study showed that especially the ideology of nationalism around the turn of the 20th century affected the translations of the novel in such a way that the original references to the Finnish source culture were preserved and the German readers were provided with background

information on them. The tendency to preserve and explain the culture-specific references was particularly visible in the very first of the German translations published in 1921. At this stage Finnish literature was not translated and promoted for the sake of literature itself, but for introducing Finland through its literature as an emerging nation to the rest of Europe. The first German translation of *Seitsemän veljestä*, published in 1921, thus clearly made an effort to be faithful to the original text and its culture-specific details and provided the German readers with information on the Finnish way of life. As opposed to this, the latest of the German translations, published in 1989 as a relatively small privately printed edition, was thoroughly modernising. Not only did the translation use modern language, but the translator had also modernised many of the culture-specific references, thus often breaking the cultural coherence of the original text. (Kujamäki 2000: 203–205, 222–224.)

As the present study views the translations not only as parts of their target cultures but as products of their own time as well, they are examined in the context of the currents of thought that were contemporary to their completion. This especially applies to the earlier translation from 1929 which is in this study examined in the context of national romanticism, a trend which is generally considered to have been dominant in Finland between circa 1890 and 1910. The era was greatly inspired by the 19th-century European ideology of nationalism, and it favoured national motifs in art, architecture, music, and literature. (Facta 2001 1983: 626–629.)

Especially in Finnish literature national romanticism had strong links to neoromanticism which criticised and resisted naturalism by drawing attention to romantic motifs instead of aiming at realist depiction. In Finland the neoromantic phase was relatively short-lived, but it has been argued that during that period Finnish writers eventually found their own literary language by turning, for example, to folk traditions and the mythical world of *Kalevala*. (Facta 2001 1986: 479; Nevala 1993: 115.) As the Finnish poet Eino Leino saw it, neoromanticism was a counter-measure for the internationality of realism in that it in effect meant embracing Finnishness and showing that Finnish art and literature do not merely absorb influences from outside, but are producers of original material as well

(Lassila 2000: 109). The earlier translation from 1929, which was made in Finland, therefore “rewrote” *Seitsemän veljestä* in such a way that the reading of it as a national romantic, or neoromantic depiction of Finland was emphasised. The later English translation of *Seitsemän veljestä* from 1991, which was made in the United States, in turn “rewrote” the obsolete national romantic interpretation of the earlier translation and concentrated on serving the interests of a distinct target audience mainly consisting of American Finns.

The theoretical framework employed in this study comes from descriptive translation studies (DTS) and the manipulation theory represented by scholars such as Gideon Toury, André Lefevere and James Holmes. Translating is, in this study, understood as *manipulation*, that is, adaptation to the new cultural context of the receivers. The manipulation theory and DTS are both target-oriented, and they approach translations from the direction of the receiving system (e.g. language, culture, or market). (Aaltonen 2004: 391–393; Munday 2003: 119–124.) In the present study proper names in *Seitsemän veljestä* are regarded as one of the most obvious objects of manipulation.

As the present study deals with the translation of minor literature into a major, hegemonic language, some reservations in regard to the general views of the manipulation theory are necessary. The manipulation theory generally examines translations as parts of the target culture since in most cases they are in essence produced within the target culture, that is, the translator is a native speaker of the target language and operates within the target culture. When minor-language literature is translated into major language this is often not the case, and especially in the early 20th century, it was common for the translators of Finnish literature to operate in Finland. As described above, Alex Matson was a Finn with a British background, and the translator of the first German translation of *Seitsemän veljestä*, Gustav Schmidt, was a lecturer of German in the university of Helsinki, who received financial support from Finnish organisations (Pegasos 2002; Kujamäki 2000: 205). With the later English translation from 1991 as well as the latest German translation from 1989 the situation was different in that they were both translated within the receiving culture by

native speakers of English and German, that is Richard Impola and Erhard Fritz Schiefer, respectively (Finlandia Foundation 2006; Kujamäki 2000: 222–223).

Translation of proper names is in the present study examined by using a modification of a model originally suggested by James Holmes (1988: 47–49). Although the model was originally intended as a tool for analysing translations of poetry, its uncomplicated structure and appropriate terminology make it a fitting tool for analysing the translation of proper names in a literary context as well. The model consists of two crossing axes, the horizontal axis of “*exoticising* versus *naturalising*” and the vertical axis of “*historicising* versus *modernising*”. With his model Holmes illustrated the choices available to the translator to make either *retentive* or *re-creative* choices in regard to individual segments of the text. With the model he also drew attention to the way in which these individual choices contribute to the overall image of the translation, depending on whether they concerned the linguistic context, the literary intertext or the socio-cultural situation.

The present study will modify Holmes’ model by regarding exoticising and naturalising as two global translation strategies that may guide the translator’s overall approach to the text. The global strategy can be either *exoticising* with the emphasis on bringing forth the foreign, or exotic origin of the translation, or *naturalising* with an emphasis on hiding the foreign origin of the translation, or making it appear more natural for the target audience. The terms exoticising and naturalising are comparable with, for example, the more recent terms of foreignising and domesticating (Venuti 1995: 20). Holmes’ concepts *retention* and *re-creation* are in turn understood as two basic local, text-level strategies for translating details of the text such as proper names: while retention highlights the foreignness of the proper name, re-creation hides it. Retention and re-creation are supplemented with a third, “in-between” strategy, *assimilation*, which refers to a local solution that is not distinctly retention or re-creation, but contains elements of both.

The introduction proceeds with a discussion of the material and the method of the present study. Chapter 2 will examine the translations against the background of their

contemporary cultural systems, and it also provides a general survey of the basic challenges of translating canonical literature of a minor culture into a major language of a hegemonic culture. Chapter 3 describes the theoretical framework employed in this study: it will discuss the view of translation as manipulation, proper names as culture-specific references in literary translation, and finally, exoticising and naturalising as manipulative translation strategies. Chapter 4 is divided into two parts: the first one discusses the findings of the analysis from the point of view of how the function and the context of individual proper names affect the choice of the local strategy employed to translate them. The second part outlines a global translation strategy for each translation.

1.1 Material

Although having an idealistic undertone and containing a great deal of humour, *Seitsemän veljestä* is basically a realist novel, and as such it can be considered a work that is very culture-specific. From the point of view of a study which examines culture-specificity in translation, proper names constitute a group of linguistic markers of the source culture that, compared with, for example, elements of the realia, is clearly definable. Proper names are therefore relatively easy to identify. In *Seitsemän veljestä* proper names have an important role since the novel contains many different characters and settings which have to be identified. The characters and locations are named by using Finnish names and observing the common Finnish rules of name-formation. The novel also contains many references to the markers of the Finnish source culture in the form of proper names.

However, as Pirjo Lyytikäinen (1999: 341) remarks, the rustic society depicted in *Seitsemän veljestä* cannot be self-evidently located in the late 19th-century Finland. For example, compared with the works of social realism published in Finland in the 1880s, *Seitsemän veljestä* does not draw its subject matter from its contemporary society to the same extent. Instead, the novel creates its own, timeless world that is mostly based on an idea of an idyllic rural Finnish society that has not been affected by the modern world.

Rafael Koskimies (1965: 9) draws a parallel between *Seitsemän veljestä* and the “half-realistic” and “half-idealistic” village-story type that had been popular in Europe from 1830s onwards. Therefore, although the novel contains non-fictional markers of Finnish culture, it does not mean that the overall setting of the novel would be non-fictional, or that the proper names would all refer to non-fictional persons or places.

The material of the present study consists of proper names in *Seitsemän veljestä* and its two English translations. They were identified in the source text primarily on the basis of their initial capital letter, but as the Finnish language was not yet standardised at the time when *Seitsemän veljestä* was written, not all proper names were spelled with a capital letter. Also some common names were spelled with a capital letter. In such borderline-cases, the context of the name was studied to decide whether the name was a proper name or not. A case in point was the name *otava* (KIVI F: 43, 144)¹ which refers to a constellation known in English-speaking countries as Charles’s Wain or Big Dipper. Even though *otava* was spelled without an initial capital letter, it was clearly used as an identifying proper name in the novel.

As the aim of the study was to examine what happened to Finnish culture-specificity in English translation, it concentrates solely on the translation of the original Finnish proper names, and additions of proper names into the English translations were not taken into account. Not all proper names in the Finnish source text were, however, considered relevant as references to the Finnish source culture. These included three distinct categories of names which were excluded from the analysis. Most of these names could be regarded as non-culture-specific internationalisms since they were either (1) proper names that referred to religious concepts that are basically the same in Finland, Britain and the United States because of the similar belief systems, or (2) proper names that referred to geographical areas outside Finland and were not therefore specific to the Finnish source culture. In addition to internationalisms, also (3) proper names that appeared in passages written in

¹ The original novel will be referred to as KIVI F, the earlier translation from 1929 by Alex Matson as KIVI E1, and the later translation from 1991 by Richard Impola as KIVI E2 throughout the entire study.

verse were excluded from the study because the effort to preserve the original meter, which both of the translations made, set limitations for translation which were not present in the rest of the novel. Furthermore, the earlier translation omitted most of the passages written in verse completely, and therefore the result would have been biased if passages in verse had been included in the study.

The proper names were divided into two main categories according to their primary function as culture-specific references, or markers of the Finnish source culture, in the original novel. (1) *Localising names* are proper names which were created by Aleksis Kivi specifically for the novel and which locate the story of the novel in Finland. They do not allude to any existing markers of Finnish culture. In most cases these non-allusive names followed the form of common Finnish personal or place names, but did not have a specific function as markers of Finnish culture. However, they may have other functions in the original novel, some of which are more culture-specific than others and which largely depend on the context in which the name appears. (2) *Authenticating names* in turn refer to pre-existing, non-fictional markers of the Finnish source culture such as towns, provinces, non-fictional persons, and names which derive from Finnish folk mythology or which appear in other Finnish literary works such as the national epic *Kalevala*. As an example, it might be said that whereas authenticating names might appear in any English-language encyclopediac dictionary, localising names would not.

1.2 Method

The present study employed the three-phase DTS methodology originally proposed by Gideon Toury (1995: 36–39, 102). The phases consist of (1) placing the translation within the target culture system and looking at its significance or acceptability, (2) comparing the source text and the target text for shifts, or differences, and (3) attempting to draw generalisations regarding the translation strategies employed.

The translation of proper names was seen to consist of a choice between strategies of (1) retention, (2) assimilation² and (3) re-creation (Holmes 1988: 48–49). From the point of view of culture-specificity, the main distinguishing factor between the three local strategies is that while retention highlights the Finnishness of the proper name, assimilation makes it more accessible for the English-speaking reader, and re-creation hides it altogether.

Retention was seen to refer to a strategy which aimed at conserving the original proper name as it had appeared in the source text. The retentive strategy is illustrated in example 1, in which Lauri, one of the seven brothers, describes the rest he could be having after moving away from their narrow-minded village-community and building a new farm into the wilderness:

- (1) No silloinpa, tehtyäni oman päivätyöni, lepään vasta rauhan majassa, kuullessen kuinka kontio korvessa viheltää ja teeri puhaltelee *Sompio*ssa (KIVI F: 23).

Well then, after doing my own work for the day, I will rest in a hut of peace, listening to how a bear whistles in the forest and a black grouse blows in *Sompio*.³

There, when the day's work is done, I'll lie in my den of peace, listening to the bear whistling in the woods and to the call of grouse out in *Sompio* (KIVI E2: 19).

In example 1, the localising name *Sompio* refers to one of the swamps that appear in the novel. The later translation has chosen to retain it without providing additional information on what kind of a place *Sompio* is.

Assimilation is, then, an “in-between” strategy which retains the original proper name or part of it, but at the same time alters it in some way by, for example, translating a part of the proper name into English or providing an explanation which is not present in the source

² The assimilative strategy is my addition to James Holmes' model which originally consists of retentive and re-creative local strategies.

³ The literal translations are mine. Proper names are given in these literal translations as they are in the source text.

text. The assimilative strategy is illustrated in the following remark by Juhani, the eldest of the seven brothers, nostalgically remembering his mother as the brothers return to their old home farm:

- (2) Ah! jos eläisi nyt äiti, käyskellen tuolla Jukolan pihalla, niin, nähtyään poikiensa lähestyvän, kiirehtis hän meitä vastaan aina *Ojaniitun* ahteelle tuolla (KIVI F: 283).

Ah! If mother were alive now, walking there in Jukola's yard, she would, after seeing her sons approaching, hurry to meet us all the way to the slope of *Ojaniittu* over there.

Ah, if mother were alive now and walked yonder in Jukola's yard, seeing her sons approaching, she'd hurry to meet us right to the rise in *Oja-meadow* (KIVI E1: 288).

In example 2, the localising place name *Ojaniittu* has been turned in the earlier translation into a Finnish-English compound *Oja-meadow* by retaining the Finnish word *oja* [brook], but translating *niittu* literally as *meadow*.

In *re-creation* the original Finnish proper name is replaced with an English one, omitted completely or is replaced with, for example, an English common name or pronoun. The re-creative strategy is illustrated in example 3, in which the novel's narrator describes the brothers' encounter with their old neighbours as they are returning to their home farm after ten years of absence:

- (3) Mutta kun he näin olivat hetken kulkeneet eteenpäin, tuli heitä vastaan kaksi naista: entinen *Männistön* muori ja nokkela, palleroinen tyttärensä [...] (KIVI F: 298).

But when they had thus walked along for a while, they were met by two women: the same old woman from *Männistö* and her clever, plump daughter [...]

But when they had journeyed thus for a while, they met two women: *Granny Pinewood* and her nimble, plump daughter [...] (KIVI E1: 303).

In example 3, the localising Finnish personal name *Männistön muori* has in the earlier translation been replaced with a completely new English name *Granny Pinewood*.

The study consisted of both a qualitative and quantitative part. It was divided into five stages which included: (1) identifying the Finnish proper names in the original novel, (2) dividing them into the categories of localising and authenticating names, (3) identifying their counterparts in the two translations, (4) identifying the local translation strategy in the two English versions of the novel, and (5) identifying the shifts in which the translations had employed different local strategies. The result of the material analysis was a profile for each translation which shows how they have treated a specific category of culture-specific references.

The five stages can be illustrated with the Finnish proper name *Häme* which appears in the very first sentence of the novel. At the first stage the Finnish proper name *Häme* was identified in the source text on the basis of the initial capital letter. At the second stage *Häme* was categorised as an authenticating name as it refers to a province of Finland. At the third stage the name's counterparts in the two translations were identified; the earlier translation repeated the name in its Finnish form, and the later one used the form *province of Häme*. At the fourth stage the local translation strategies employed in the translations were identified. Since the earlier translation repeated the name, the strategy was considered retentive, and as the later translation provided the gloss *province*, the local strategy was regarded as assimilation. The fifth and final stage, in which the translations were compared with each other to discover the instances in which they had employed different strategies, did not take place until the stages from 1 to 4 had been repeated for all the names in the material. The purpose of the fifth stage was to concentrate on the instances in which the translations have dealt with the original proper names by using different local strategies. In other words, since the present study intends to draw attention to the *difference* of the translations, proper names which the translations have dealt with by using the same local solution were regarded as uninteresting.

The overall strategy of dealing with the proper names as visible markers of the novels culture specificity needs to be seen against the background of the time and place of the publication of a particular translation. Such background is also called for by the first phase of the DTS methodology as outlined by Toury. Chapter 2 will provide this background: section 2.1 will look at the significance of *Seitsemän veljestä* in its source culture and demonstrate how the status of the novel has developed from a severely criticised first attempt to write a novel in Finnish to a celebrated national work of Finland. Section 2.2 concentrates on examining the two English translations of *Seitsemän veljestä* and draws attention to the significance they have had in their target culture at the time of their publication.

2 FINNISH CLASSICS AND THE FATE OF MINORITY LITERATURE

As a potential source for English translations, Finnish literature has at least three major disadvantages. The most obvious of them is purely cultural: the volume of translatable literature that Finland as a minor culture is able to produce is small compared with, for example, the United States. Börje Vähämäki (2000: 567) specifies two more disadvantages, the first one of which is linguistic: Finnish as a minor non-Indo-European language is relatively demanding to translate into languages, such as English, which are structurally very different, and non-native translators who have an adequate command of the Finnish language are comparatively rare. The second disadvantage is that during its first formative century that begun in the latter half of the 19th century and lasted until the 1960s, Finnish literature was largely based on a nationalist agenda that has been argued having rendered it uninteresting to non-Finns.

Many prominent works of Finnish literature have indeed been deemed impossible to translate. Moreover, the existing English translations of the works of prominent Finnish writers such as Aleksis Kivi, Franz Emil Sillanpää and Väinö Linna have been under heavy criticism, not least for the quality of the translations themselves. However, it has to be kept in mind that translating dialectal and otherwise non-standard Finnish, which many of the most important works of Finnish literature rely on, is notoriously difficult. Perhaps the most prominent examples of this are Joel Lehtonen's *Putkinotko* [Pipe dell] and Volter Kilpi's *Alastalon salissa* [In the Alastalo parlour] which have not appeared in English up to date mainly because their way of integrating regional culture and dialect with, for example, character development and cultural values has been regarded as impossible to represent in English in a satisfying way. (Vähämäki 2000: 566–567.)

The history of Finland as a subordinated nation is strongly reflected in early Finnish literature. After having been under the Swedish rule for over six hundred years, Finland was annexed to Russia as a Grand Duchy as a result of the Finnish War in 1809. Finland became independent in 1917, but the long period of dependency had had an indelible effect

on Finnish culture: the nation had been divided into the Finnish-speaking majority of rural people and the Swedish or Russian-speaking urban cultural elite. Like most of the works published during the first century the emergence of Finnish literature, also *Seitsemän veljestä* is currently seen as belonging to, or even initiating, the “Great Tradition of Finnish prose”. The tradition was characterised not only by a nationalist agenda, but also by a tendency to express and criticise the contemporary cultural distance between the peaceful, rural village-type world and the strange, sophisticated world of the elite. (Vähämäki 2000: 566–567.) Thus the challenges in translating the cultural nuances of early Finnish literature are a result from the impact of Finland’s “colonial” past on Finnish culture.

The “Great Tradition”, in which Finns were slowly transformed from creatures of the forest into cultivated city-dwellers, can be ultimately seen operating through the depiction of a certain cultural dichotomy. This dichotomy is built on the Finnish-speaking majority’s process of adopting the role as the leaders of the nation from the cultural elite: the role rightfully belongs to the Finnish-speaking majority, but at the same time its members find it intimidating. Like many other works, *Seitsemän veljestä* symbolises this dichotomy through the idea of literacy: as a skill difficult to achieve it is resisted by the stubborn brothers to the very last, but once mastered it facilitates the brothers’ ultimate integration into Western civilisation (Vähämäki 2000: 567.) The depiction of this kind of resistance in early Finnish literature is often based on local culture, dialects and traditions, all of which can be very difficult to represent in other languages.

In conclusion, most of the Finnish 19th and early 20th-century canonical literature is inevitably dependent on Finland’s past as a subordinated and multi-cultural nation. It draws on regional language and culture varieties as a means of criticising the way in which society was divided into the urban cultural elite and the rural Finnish-speaking peasantry. This characteristic renders early Finnish literature very culture-specific in that most of it relies expressly on the depiction of rural, uneducated people. Consequently, transferring the cultural and linguistic markers of rural Finnishness accurately into other languages can cause considerable translational problems.

The two following sections will take a closer look at *Seitsemän veljestä* and its two translations. Section 2.1 discusses the significance of the original novel in its source culture and examines its relationship with the nationalist agenda and Great Tradition of Finnish prose. Section 2.2 will draw attention to the two English translations of the novel, their translators and their publication contexts. It will show how the choice of the overall translation strategy does not depend on the source text alone but also, and even more significantly, on the receiving context of the translations.

2.1 *Seitsemän veljestä*: From Outcast to National Epitome

Seitsemän veljestä is one of the most valued literary works in Finland, and its only formidable rival may be the national epic *Kalevala*. However, its firm position at the forefront of the Finnish literary canon derives from reasons many of which are independent from the novel itself. Aleksis Kivi was “Finland’s first Finnish-language author of international calibre” (Vähämäki 2000: 566), and although he lay a firm basis for the development of Finnish prose, verse and drama, he and his principal work *Seitsemän veljestä* did not become celebrated national icons until well after his early death. As a novel representing a new kind of realism in Finnish literature, *Seitsemän veljestä* concentrated on depicting the life of ordinary people more faithfully than ever before. As Lyytikäinen (1999: 345) points out, the new image of a Finnish peasant that Kivi created inevitably clashed with the earlier romantic image created by the Finnish national poet Johan Ludvig Runeberg in the course of the mid-19th century. The Finnish people, as depicted by Runeberg, were humble and decent, whereas Kivi’s brothers fought, drunk and rebelled against the established social system. The novel’s new kind of realism derived mainly from Kivi’s assurance and ability as a son of a peasant to write about the common people without adopting the patronising attitude of the cultural elite.

Until the publication of *Seitsemän veljestä* in 1870, Kivi had been working with the novel for ten years and was expecting to finally receive appreciation as an artist as well as income

as a professional writer. However, the novel was severely criticised by some of the most influential scholars of the time. For example, professor August Ahlqvist described *Seitsemän veljestä* as “a jest” and “a blot” within Finnish literature and claimed that Kivi’s description of the common Finnish people was an insult rather than a realistic account. Ahlqvist also severely attacked the novel’s publisher, and, as a result, *Seitsemän veljestä* was withdrawn from the market for three years. It was not re-released until after Kivi’s death. (Sihvo 2006.)

The main reasons for the rise of Aleksis Kivi and *Seitsemän veljestä* as icons of Finnish-language culture can be found both inside and outside the late 19th-century Finland. In Finland there was a strong cultural movement, *fennomania*, which aimed at promoting Finnish culture as well as the use of Finnish as a language of culture and education. Finland was also seeking ways to strengthen its identity as a nation independent from Russia, whose Grand Duchy Finland had become already in 1809. In the process, *Seitsemän veljestä* acquired, with the aid and support of the Finnish Literature Society, an iconic role which has persisted to the present (Uusi-Hallila 2006; Vähämäki 2000: 566.)

Fennomania was heavily influenced by the national romantic sentiment that was at the same time emerging around Europe. In Finland it was epitomised by the famous motto “no longer Swedes, unwilling to become Russians, let us be Finns” (Vähämäki 2000: 566). From 1840 onwards *fennomania* concentrated on creating an image of Finland as an independent and unique nation. The most important goal of the movement was, however, the promotion of Finnish as the language of the educated, Swedish-speaking class. One visible consequence of the new attitude was that many members of the educated class, or the cultural elite, changed their home language from Swedish to Finnish and also adopted Finnish names. (Uusi-Hallila 2006.)

However, it was not until the turn of the 20th century when Aleksis Kivi and *Seitsemän veljestä* begun to emerge as symbols of the strengthening Finnish-language culture as well as icons representing the whole nation. The first works of Kivi to enter the consciousness of

the Finnish people were his plays, which were popular in small countryside theatres around the turn of the 20th century. The novel *Seitsemän veljestä* was also slowly gaining popularity all over the Grand Duchy, and some of the leading young, neoromantic writers such as Eino Leino and Volter Kilpi adopted Aleksis Kivi as their literary paragon instead of the Swedish-language national poet Johan Ludvig Runeberg. In the process Kivi's writing was turned into an ideal within Finnish literature and a measure against which later writings of prose could be compared with. (Sihvo 2006; Nevala 1993: 113.)

Aleksis Kivi and *Seitsemän veljestä* began to attract the interest of the academic world as well. For example, in his dissertation on Aleksis Kivi and *Seitsemän veljestä* published in 1910 as well as in an extensive biography of Kivi published in 1915, Viljo Tarkiainen for the first time emphasised Kivi as a writer whose roots were among the common people and whose primary interest was to depict the common people. Tarkiainen's influential studies also bestowed new cultural and political significance upon Kivi, and the view of Aleksis Kivi as a romantic poet of nature was, to a great extent, outlined by Tarkiainen. He is also responsible for suggesting parallels between *Seitsemän veljestä* and the classics of world literature by authors such as Cervantes and Gogol, as well as emphasising the novel as a general antithesis of the "ancient" Swedish-language culture and a "true embodiment" of the Finnish people. However, more concrete understanding of how Kivi's writing related to the social and ideological views of the mid-19th-century Finland was provided by scholars after Tarkiainen's time. (Varpio 1986: 90–92.)

Seitsemän veljestä has been seen to have many features which make it unusual, even unique. For example, Aarne Kinnunen (1987: 25–26) draws attention to the originality of the novel's plot, central themes and structure. According to Kinnunen, the feature of using seven characters as one collective protagonist is a rare one: from the better-known titles of world literature the six brothers in Walter Scott's *Rob Roy* are probably the closest equivalent. The theme of seclusion outside society can, however, be found in some of the classics of romantic literature, such as Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* and Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.

A major part of the novel's originality must also be attributed to its language. Kivi's literary career took place at a time when the Finnish language was not yet standardised, and he had to develop his own literary language "by drawing on the Bible and on peasant dialects" (Vähämäki 2000: 567). Subsequently, this way of writing laid the foundation for the development of Finnish into a vehicle of modern literary expression. His language contains a great deal of archaic and dialectal features, and his style mixes prose, verse and drama. The dialogue is presented in the form of a script with lines assigned to characters as in a play (see examples 4 and 5 below), and the main current of the dialogue and narration is at times broken by poems of varying length.

2.2 *Seven Brothers*: From Classic to Paperback

Seitsemän veljestä has been translated twice into English as a complete novel, in 1929 by Alex Matson and in 1991 by Richard Impola (Vähämäki 2000: 567). In addition, translations of passages of the novel as well as some of the poems in it have appeared in publications introducing Finnish prose and poetry for English-speaking readerships. For example, *Voices from Finland*, edited by Elli Tompuri and published in 1947, contained a section from *Seitsemän veljestä* translated by David Barrett; *Odes* from 1994 included Keith Bosley's translation of the poem "Sydämeni laulu" (Grove of Tuoni), and *The Dedalus Book of Finnish Fantasy* from 2005 included David Hackston's translation of "Tarina kalveasta immestä" [Story of the pale maiden] which is one of the brief stories that the brothers tell to each other in *Seitsemän veljestä* (Aleksis Kivi – kansalliskirjailija 2007b; Pegasos 2003).

Alex Matson and Richard Impola are both prolific translators of Finnish literature. In addition to *Seitsemän veljestä*, Alex Matson is mainly known for the English translations of the Finnish Nobel prize winner F. E. Sillanpää's *Nuorena nukkunut* (*Fallen Asleep while Young*, or *Maid Silja*) and *Hurskas kurjuus* (*Meek Heritage*) (Vähämäki 2000: 567), as well as some works of the novelist, dramatist and short story writer Aino Kallas (Finnish

Literature Information Centre 2006). Richard Impola has mainly concentrated on translating Finnish post-war literature (1944 onwards) into English. His translations include Väinö Linna's famous national trilogy *Täällä Pohjantähden alla* (*Under the North Star, The Uprising* and *Reconciliation*) and Antti Tuuri's novel *Talvisota* (*The Winter War*) which describes the conflict between Finland and the Soviet Union between 1939 and 1940. He has also translated Juhani Aho's *Juha* as well as selected works of Kalle Päätalo. (Finnish Literature Information Centre 2006.)

Alex Matson's translation of *Seitsemän veljestä* was published in New York by the recently founded publishing company Coward-McCann and in London by the newly established Faber & Faber (Faber & Faber 2007). Since both companies published the translation in 1929, it can be inferred that it was specifically adjusted to neither a British nor an American audience. Matson's translation was also published in Finland by Tammi, a major publishing company: the first edition was released in 1952, and the second in 1959 (Haltsonen 1964: 38; Aleksis Kivi – kansalliskirjailija 2007a). In the 1960s the translation's publication outside Finland shifted from commercial publishers to non-profit organisations: in 1962 it was published in New York by American-Scandinavian Foundation. In 1973 the third edition of the translation was revised by Irma Rantavaara and published by Tammi in Helsinki. (Aleksis Kivi – kansalliskirjailija 2007a.)

In contrast to Alex Matson's translation, the publication context of Richard Impola's translation seems to be characterised by the fact that it was never meant to make a profit, and that it was aimed at a much more defined target audience. It first appeared in 1991 in New Paltz, New York, published by The Finnish American Translators Association (FATA) (Aleksis Kivi – kansalliskirjailija 2007b). In 2005 it was published unrevised by Aspasia Books in Beaverton, Ontario, Canada. Both publishers of Impola's translation are small, non-profit organisations which are dedicated to promoting translated Finnish literature in the United States and Canada (Finnish American Translators Association 2006; Aspasia Books 2006).

The publication contexts of the two translations released such a long time apart differ from each other, but they also have much in common. Alex Matson's translation was initially published by small, newly established companies, and also the translation by Richard Impola was first released by a small, non-profit organisation, dedicated to translating and publishing Finnish literature. Especially the initial releases of the two translations took place in similar contexts, but with further publications the contexts became increasingly different. While Impola's translation has been published only by small American and Canadian publishers concentrating on translated Finnish literature, Matson's translation was later published, not only by American-Scandinavian Foundation, a non-profit organisation dedicated to promoting cultural and educational exchange between the United States and Scandinavian countries (The American-Scandinavian Foundation 2006), but a major Finnish publishing company as well.

The publication contexts of the initial releases of the translations are similar in that both were initially published in the United States, and neither was published by major, prestigious publishers outside Finland. Since the publication contexts are so similar, the contemporary cultural context of the translators is further emphasised as an important factor influencing their choice of strategy.

A closer examination of the translators' prefaces provides some insight into the cultural situation in which the translators were working. Alex Matson's foreword, which according to Haltsonen (1964: 38) did not appear until in the second edition published in 1952, reflects the traditional, romantic view of Aleksis Kivi as an artist, his principal work, as well as the nation his principal work portrays. For instance, Matson states that

[t]he face of Finland has of course altered greatly since Kivi wrote his novel in the 1860's [...]. It might be difficult to recognize in the Finnish farmer of today the children of nature Kivi drew. Yet for all that, national character does not easily change, and Kivi's "brothers" are still typical of the nation. The traits of character that determined the course of their lives – stubbornness, hardy individualism, endurance, independence, love of liberty – are those which have determined the course of Finland's history in our times (KIVI E1: 5).

The kind of romantic and even nationalist undertone evident in the above quotation is evident throughout Matson's translation. Furthermore, his comment on the difficulty of "replicating" Kivi's original language in English emphasises Kivi as an embodiment of the myth about the romantic artist:

[e]ven his [Kivi's] choice of words, the construction of his sentences, his prose rhythms, are analogous to music, though for this the reader must take the translator's word, for a translator, compelled to stick to an author's meaning, can but rarely reproduce the cadences and beats of the original sentences in which sound, stress and meaning were created simultaneously (KIVI E1: 8).

However, Matson's reference to a translator being "compelled" to confine himself solely to the meaning of the source text is rather misleading because his translation actually makes an effort to preserve the archaic character of Kivi's style of writing by employing some of the prominent markers of archaic English.

Alex Matson's account has much in common with the views of Heinrich Minden, the publisher of the first German translation of *Seitsemän veljestä*, who advertised the translation in *Weser-Zeitung Bremen* in 1921 by emphasising the protagonists as an embodiment of the Finnish people, and characterising the novel as an introduction to understanding the "special character" of Finland. Minden heavily relied on the nationalist view of Kivi and his writing that prevailed in Finland at the time, according to which the work, the author and the nation were seen as "fused together". In this interpretation *Seitsemän veljestä* was considered to equal *Kalevala*, the national epic of Finland, as a mythical "foundation" for all new Finnish literature. (Kujamäki 2000: 204–205).

Richard Impola, on the contrary, takes a more critical approach into *Seitsemän veljestä*:

Kivi's affection for his characters is obvious. They are hardly idealized, yet they are as appealing a group of rowdies as any in literature. [...] They have good intentions, usually thwarted either by their own failings or by dogmatic authorities, but they finally bungle and struggle their way through to a place in society (KIVI E2: 7).

Here the image of the protagonists is almost completely devoid of any national sentiment, and the brothers are approached as any fictional characters. Impola also proceeds to compare *Seitsemän veljestä* with Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* at great length, arguing that although the basic theme in both of them is flight from civilisation, and both are inclined to realist depiction, they are completely different as works of art. Whereas *Seitsemän veljestä* describes the development of misfits into respected citizens according to the ideals of the "Great Tradition", the protagonist of *Huckleberry Finn* draws from American individualism and thus remains in permanent conflict with the surrounding society. (KIVI E2: 8–9.)

The earlier translation uses, especially in the dialogue, a form of English that is considerably archaic, even for the time the translation was made in. A sample of this archaic style is shown in example 4:

- (4) *Aapo*: I say this wild life won't do, and can only end in ruin and destruction.
 Brothers! other habits and works, if happiness and peace is to be ours.
Juhani: Thou speakest truth, no denying that.
Simeoni: God ha' mercy! unbridled, wild has our life been unto this day.
 (KIVI E2: 21.)

Archaic language is particularly visible in pronouns, verbs, auxiliary verbs and prepositions which consistently take the Middle English forms (e.g. *thou, thy, thine, art, dost* and *unto*). All these forms were replaced in the Standard English by their modern versions well before the early 20th century. The archaism of Kivi's language is characterised by typically Finnish dialectal and descriptive verbs, onomatopoeia, non-standard word order, and exceptional inflection, and this has been replaced by archaism typical of Middle English pronouns and verbs, obsolete word-forms, archaic spelling, and poetic contractions.

The later translation by Richard Impola from 1991 deviates a great deal from the earlier. No particular effort has been made to convey the archaic quality of the original novel's language, and the translation consistently uses modern, "everyday" language and expressions. Example 5 shows the above passage (example 4) as translated by Impola:

- (5) *Aapo*: I tell you, this wild life won't do. It'll end in rack and ruin. Brothers, let's change our ways if we hope for peace and quiet.
Juhani: You're right. I can't deny it.
Simeoni: God mend us. Our life has been wild and abandoned to this very day. (KIVI E2: 16.)

Furthermore, Finnish idioms and proverbs, of which there are many in the novel, have in Impola's translation been replaced with closely matching English ones. Example 6 shows the way in which the translations deal with a line that is considerably rich in Finnish figurative language:

- (6) "Ettei tule tuohesta takkia, eikä vanhasta pappia", sentähden "pillit pussiin ja pois" ja kaikki yhdestä päästä. Taidanpa kiinnittää asiani vielä yhdellä sanalla: "kahden puolen kirves hiotaan" (KIVI F: 54).

"Bark does not make a coat, nor an old person a priest", therefore "let's put the pipes in the bag and go away" and all unanimously. I think I will emphasise my point with one last word: "an axe is ground on both sides".

That "a coat can't be made of birch-bark, or a parson out of an old man", so let's be off, all with a single mind. I can clinch the matter with another proverb: "An axe is ground on both sides" (KIVI E1: 57).

That you "can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear" or "teach an old dog new tricks." So let's pack our bags and hit the road, all of one mind. And I'll clinch the case with one last proverb: "Sharpen both sides of a double ax" (KIVI E2: 45).

While in this particular example the earlier translation has translated the first two of the original proverbs literally into English, the later one has replaced all of them.

The translations also employ notably different strategies to deal with some Finnish culture-specific references. Example 7 contains a reference to *torppa*, a typical small Finnish cottage situated in the domain of a larger farm.

- (7) *Aapo*, mitä tuumiskelemme noista kahdesta meidän *torpistamme* [...] (KIVI F: 24).

Aapo, what are we thinking about those two *crofts* of ours [...]

Aapo, what is our idea of those two *crofts* of ours [...] (KIVI E1: 26).

Aapo, what are your plans for our two *torppas* [...] (KIVI E2: 20).

As shown in example 7, Impola's translation has transferred the Finnish culture-specific reference *torppa* directly from the source text to the target text, while Matson's translation has replaced it with closely matching English equivalent *croft*.

The fact that the works of Aleksis Kivi are so well represented in English translation can be almost exclusively explained with the national function of the author and his principal work. The numerous separate publications of Alex Matson's translation from 1929 onwards clearly correspond to the project of promoting Finland as an independent nation and the introduction of the pinnacle of Finnish canonical literature to the rest of the world. Richard Impola's translation from 1991 can, in turn, be seen taking on the role of a modernising retranslation whose most important task is to bring a linguistically and otherwise outdated classic closer to the modern reader with an American-Finnish background. In this sense Impola's translation could be assumed to be somewhat analogous to the latest German translation of *Seitsemän veljestä*, whose modernising approach was, on the one hand, considered to do injustice to the source text, but, on the other hand, welcomed as a way of breaking free from the old and unsatisfactory practices of translating a classic text (Kujamäki 2000: 224–225).

On the basis of the translators' conceptions of *Seitsemän veljestä* and the style of language they use in their translations, it can be argued that the global strategies that the translators employ are clearly different. It would appear that from the viewpoint of the target culture, the earlier translation from 1929 is clearly disposed to *exoticise* the novel as indicated by the foreword's national romantic view of the novel. It also employs archaic English to reflect the archaic Finnish of the original novel, and, for example, tends to translate the original proverbs literally. The later translation from 1991 is, in turn, *naturalising* from the

point of view of the target culture. Richard Impola's foreword seems more critical than Matson's in that it does not immediately adopt the usual romantic conception of the novel but approaches it as part of the "Great Tradition" of Finnish prose. It also seems to acknowledge the novel's original background as a realist rather than romantic work. The language of the later translation is much more modern, and, for example, the original proverbs are replaced with English ones.

The kind of development described in the above is in line with the trend in, for example, Germany and Sweden. According to Kujamäki (2000: 205–206, 223), the first German translation of *Seitsemän veljestä* drew on the contemporary view of the novel as the "ultimate" depiction of Finnishness. Therefore it made an effort to be faithful to Kivi's style of writing and to explain, at the request of the translation's Finnish commissioner, the central markers of the Finnish source culture in the form of footnotes. The latest German translation in turn modernised Kivi's language to such an extent that the cultural coherence of the text was not maintained. It also replaced many of the culture-specific references with the translator's own interpretations and explanations. The same kind of development is evident also in the Swedish translations of *Seitsemän veljestä*: while Elmer Diktonius' translation from 1948 was considered more literary in style and phraseology, Thomas Warburton's translation from 1987 was deemed stylistically more popular and colloquial (Nordgren 1987).

In conclusion, the first phase of Toury's DTS methodology, that is, placing the translations within the target culture systems and looking at their significance, has yielded an important notion: the two English translations of *Seitsemän veljestä* appear notably different, which is likely to derive from the different conceptions the two translators have had of the source text. The translators' conceptions, in turn, have been influenced by the cultural context within which they have worked. The present study will concentrate on examining how some prominent markers of the Finnishness of the original novel, that is proper names, follow the development of the global translations strategies. Proper names in the original *Seitsemän veljestä* serve an important function as references that are specific to the Finnish

source culture, and as the two translations signal the Finnishness of the original work differently as a whole, this may also be visible in the ways they deal with the original proper names.

3 MANIPULATION OF CULTURE-SPECIFICITY IN TRANSLATION

Translations are not made in a vacuum. Translators function in a given culture at a given time. The way they understand themselves and their culture is one of the factors that may influence the way in which they translate. (Lefevere 1992a: 14.)

The translation process is inevitably affected by its contemporary time, and the resulting translation is therefore a product of its own time. The translation process and its result are also influenced by the culture within which the translator operates; usually this is the target culture, but in some cases, especially when translating from a minor language, the translator may operate primarily from within the source culture. Moreover, the translators' conception of their own culture, that is, their *ideology* which they may embrace willingly or which may be imposed on them (Lefevere 1992b: 41), also has an effect on the translation process and its result. In the present study the two English translations of *Seitsemän veljestä* are therefore examined as products of their own time. It is presumed that the translator's overall strategy is influenced not only by the culture within which he has operated, but also by his conception or idea of it, that is, his ideology.

The present study approaches the idea of translation as manipulation mainly from the point of view of the concepts of *ideology* and *culture-specificity*. When the two translations of *Seitsemän veljestä* were examined in the previous section, their text-level appearances were found to be notably different. On the basis of even a superficial examination, it would be possible to establish a global strategy for each translation. However, for a more subtle understanding of why a particular strategy has been chosen, the original work and its translations must be placed in the cultural and historical context they were originally part of. This was partially done in the previous sections when the translators' forewords were examined as exponents of their conception of the source text. The text-level phenomena (e.g. culture-specific items such as proper names) can then be contrasted against this backdrop and conclusions drawn on how the cultural context has affected the local translation strategies.

The earlier translation of *Seitsemän veljestä* from 1929 was made at a time when Finland was still young as an independent nation, and Finnish culture and especially the image that was being established abroad was still influenced by national romanticism. Also *Seitsemän veljestä* was given a role as a national novel only recently. In addition, the translator Alex Matson as a Finn worked within the Finnish culture. This makes out a strong case to argue that the translator's conception of his own culture, that is, the ideological framework he was working within, was one of the most important factors both in the initial decision to translate *Seitsemän veljestä* into English as well as in the translation process and in the shaping of the translation itself. In other words, the translator's national romantic ideology and the fact that he operated as part of the Finnish source culture affected the strategy he applied to the source text and its culture-specific references. As a result, the novel's Finnishness was emphasised in all instances.

The later translation from 1991 was in turn made in the United States and marketed by an association dedicated to translating and publishing Finnish literature. The most obvious target audience of the later translation consists of modern American Finns and their descendants. Therefore Richard Impola's translation could be expected use modern language, but also draw attention to the "Finnish roots" of the novel by highlighting some of the markers of the Finnish source culture.

3.1 Translation as Manipulation

The understanding of translation as manipulation springs from the theoretical idea of literature as a complex and dynamic *system*, a concept introduced into modern literary theory by Russian Formalists in the early 20th century and further developed into the polysystem theory by Itamar Even-Zohar in the 1970s (Munday 2003: 109). Russian Formalists viewed culture as a complex system of systems composed of various subsystems such as literature, science and technology, within which the subsystems were in constant interaction with each other (Lefevere 1992b: 11). The manipulation theory approaches

translation from a descriptive point of view with an emphasis on the target text and its place or function in the target culture or system. As a theory of translation, it stresses a systematic study of individual translations and constant interplay between these practical case studies and theoretical models (Munday 2003: 120.)

Observing the formalist view, Lefevere emphasises the role of literature essentially as a subsystem within a larger system of systems that ultimately constitutes culture or society. The system of literature and other systems contained within the system of culture are open to each other and in constant interaction. According to Lefevere, the system of literature is essentially influenced by two control factors, one within the system of literature and one outside it, that see to it that the subsystem of literature does not drift too far apart from the other subsystems society or culture consists of. A certain kind of power relationship exists between these two control factors: the factor inside the system of literature attempts to control the system of literature, but has to do it within the parameters set by the factor operating outside the system of literature. The control factor operating from within the subsystem is represented by *professionals* such as critics, teachers and translators. The parameters for the professionals are set by the control factor outside the subsystem of literature, the *patronage*, which consists of the agents that can further or hinder the reading, writing and rewriting (i.e. translating) of literature. (Lefevere 1992b: 14–15.)

The idea of translation as rewriting is central in the manipulation theory. Riitta Oittinen (2000: 265–266) argues that all translation is in a sense rewriting because every translation is made for a certain situation and audience and, therefore, also bound to a specific time and place. When a text is translated into another language, it is inevitably turned into a part of the new language, culture and literature. Translation can be understood as rewriting also because translators, as individual human beings, always experience the text they are translating through their own selves. Therefore, instead of *being* something, the source text is always *read* or *understood* as something, and it may be dealt with very differently in different situations involving different languages and cultures.

In addition to the theoretical view of literature as a subsystem of culture, Lefevere suggests two more central concepts for understanding translation as manipulation. While *poetics* refers inside the literary system and to the dominant concept of “what literature should be”, *ideology* in turn refers to the system of systems as a whole, defining “what society should be” (Lefevere 1992b: 14). Professionals and patrons tend to view the two issues differently. Patronage is usually more concerned about ideology than poetics and, in most cases, willing to delegate some of their power to professionals in matters concerning poetics. The ultimate function of the patrons is to regulate the relationship between literature and the other systems. Professionals, in turn, will most often have to settle for rewriting (e.g. translating) works of literature so that the poetics reflected in them fits in with the ideology of a certain time and society. (ibid. 14–15.)

From the point of view of the present study, the view of literature as a subsystem of a greater entity of culture or society is useful in that it reveals the power relationships between culture and literature which are, by nature, hidden from the readers of original and translated literature. In the present study it is assumed that the translator’s and the translation’s cultural context constitutes the most important factor in shaping the translation. It is argued that patronage, or the agents that have the power to further and hinder the rewriting of literature, have the greatest influence in determining the strategy to translate *Seitsemän veljestä* into English at different times. Alex Matson in 1929 and Richard Impola in 1991, that is, professionals, are in turn regarded as having an influence on how the process of translating *Seitsemän veljestä* into English should be conducted, so that the result fits into their contemporary societies.

From the point of view of the receiving system, that is, Anglo-American culture, both translations of *Seitsemän veljestä* can be expected to imply a certain kind of manipulation of the source text. Alex Matson’s translation completed in 1929 was made around a time when major changes took place in the source culture’s ideology, that is, Finland had become independent twelve years before. In this case *Seitsemän veljestä* could be expected to be translated, or rewritten so that the translation would reflect and support the changes

that had taken place in the source culture's ideology. Matson's translation could be expected to partake in the project of promoting Finland as a nation in its own right through its national work of prose, and to highlight the novel's Finnish origin to the outsiders on all levels. Richard Impola's translation from 1991 can, in turn, be interpreted as a modernising and a more market-centred enterprise, aimed at a more narrow target audience of Americans with Finnish background who might want to experience the national novel in a modernised version that does not diverge too much from modern American literature.

The superficial examination of the two translations in section 2.2 suggested that the earlier one manipulated, or rewrote *Seitsemän veljestä* for the English-speaking audience in such a way that it reflected the source culture's national romantic conception of the novel and emphasised the archaic style of its language. Similarly, the later translation was manipulated, or rewritten, in such a way that it was closer in style to modern American literature than to classical Finnish literature, and does, for example, not convey the archaic style of language to the target audience. It could therefore be also expected that proper names as some of the most important and visible culture-specific references would also be manipulated, or rewritten. The earlier translation could be assumed to highlight the Finnish origin of the proper names even at the cost of intelligibility, while Impola's translation could be assumed to hide their Finnish origin, especially if they constitute potential obstacles for the reader.

3.2 Proper Names as Culture-Specific References

Even though the language pair dealt with in this study is as dissimilar as Finnish and English, the way in which proper names have traditionally been defined in these languages is rather similar. Perhaps the greatest difference is visible the way in which English grammar distinguishes a proper *noun* from a proper *name*: while a proper noun is a grammatical term and always refers to a single word (e.g. *Jack* or *Jill*), proper names may consist of a number of words (e.g. *Empire State Building*) (Quirk et al. 1985: 288; my

examples). In Finnish, this distinction is not made, and the Finnish term *erisnimi*, or *propri* takes single-word constructions as well as constructions consisting of multiple words into account (Hakulinen et al. 2004: 549). Since the differences are minimal, the term *proper name* can be used to refer to both English and Finnish proper names. The material of the study includes names which consist of both single and multiple words, and as the analysis is not conducted on grammatical level, the term *proper noun* is not needed at all.

In both languages the primary function of proper names is to *identify*, and this function also distinguishes them from common names. A proper name assigns an individual entity a name to set it apart from other members belonging to the same class or species. The meaning of a proper name is therefore restrictive. Proper names are usually spelt in Finnish and English with an initial capital letter, and they can assign a name to an entity such as a person, animal, place, building, company, product or work. However, in many cases there is no clear boundary between proper names and common names: a proper name can be sometimes used as a common name to refer to an entity that in some way resembles a previously named individual entity (e.g. *he is such a shakespeare*). In the same way a common name can be used as a proper name: for example, words like *Earth* and *Lord* may in some context be proper names, but in another context, irrespective of the initial capital letter, common names. Furthermore, for example names of cyclically recurring festival days and holidays, months and days of the week are not, in essence, identifying and cannot therefore be considered proper names in spite of their initial capital letter. The same applies to, for instance, names referring to nationalities. (Hakulinen et al. 2004: 549; Quirk et al. 1985: 288.)

In translation, proper names may function as culture-specific references if they identify an entity within the source culture which is meaningful only for the members of the source culture. In other words, as Alasdair MacIntyre argues (quoted in Silverstein 1992: 135), a proper name of place or person names a place or person *in the first instance* only for the members of a particular linguistic or cultural community, or, in translational terms, the members of the source culture. Marc Silverstein (*ibid.*) suggests that proper name does not

simply equal its referential function, but contains something “more”. According to MacIntyre’s definition, this “more” is “the scheme of identification”,

[...] a dialectical process through which a community both defines the object as emerging from a matrix of various associations and values, and defines itself as an entity through these values inhabiting the object. [...] [T]his “scheme” [...] determines the cultural specificity of the national community, and allows the community to articulate self-representations that cast it as a subject of history. (ibid.)

Because the “scheme of identification” is inevitably attached to names and naming of a cultural community, names inevitably cause problems in translation. As proper names are deeply rooted in the source culture and, in many cases, meaningful only for its members, transferring both their form as well as their associations from the source text to the target text is often impossible. In this sense, proper names are references that are specific to their source culture. Moreover, the division of place names into opaque and transparent ones employed in the present study is closely connected to the idea of “more”: while transparent names have an explicit meaning and can, in most cases, be translated into other languages, opaque names are often restricted to their source culture alone (Kiviniemi 1990: 13).

Defining a culture-specific reference or item distinctly is difficult. According to Javier Franco Aixelá (1996: 57), the main problem in defining culture-specific items in the context of translation is constituted by the difficulty in distinguishing culturally specific components from linguistic and pragmatic ones: after all, everything in language is ultimately culturally produced and therefore culture-specific. Another problem is brought about by the common view of culture-specific items as static phenomena. However, developments in the field of translation studies, systems theories in particular, have shown that practically everything in translation and intercultural relationships is dynamic. This applies to culture-specificity as well.

Culture-specificity could be defined as a local phenomenon which becomes identifiable only in the process of translation. Culture-specific references would, then, consist of

[t]hose textually actualized items whose function and connotation in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the nonexistence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text (Aixelá 1996: 58).

This suggests two main requirements for culture-specificity as a problem in translation. First, culture-specific items may cause a problem in translation because of the incompatibility of the cultural systems of the two languages in the process. Secondly, the problem may be caused by the function and the connotation of the culture-specific item. Thus the problem is not necessarily caused by the denotational meaning of the item, but by the subjective cultural, or even emotional associations that go with it. For instance, *Impivaara*, the name of the central setting in *Seitsemän veljestä*, has been on certain occasions translated literally as “*Maiden’s Height*” (KIVI E1: 111) or “*Maidenmount*” (KIVI E2: 89). These translations do clarify the denotation of the original name to the English-speaking reader, but they cannot make visible the symbolic importance which the name *Impivaara* has in the Finnish society. Likewise, repeating a culture-specific item (i.e. retaining its form) can cause problems if that form has meaning in the target language that is different from the meaning the word has in the source language. In other words, a “proper name is sometimes improper” (Pym 1992: 72).

The problems caused by proper names in translation only partly fit in the above description of the common translation problems of culture-specific references. What most of all makes translating proper names problematic is their dependence on their linguistic form. If their original form is considerably changed when they are transferred into another language they are bound to lose their culture-specific character. Proper names are, apart from some internationalisms and transcultural names (see Leppihalme 1994: 95–96), in most cases meaningful only within the language and culture they are originally part of. Furthermore, proper names are often difficult to translate because most often they do not “mean” anything as such, that is, they do not always tell anything specific about the qualities of the entity they refer to, but operate in terms of culture-specific associations. Also the context in which the proper names appear affects their associations which are, therefore, dynamic.

It is possible to translate some proper names or their parts quite easily as calques, as in the situation in which the name of a meadow called “*Ojaniittu*” (KIVI F: 300) which is located near the home farm of the seven brothers, has been translated as “Brook Meadow” (KIVI E1: 306). However, the culture-specific aspects, such as the archaic impression that the Finnish words *niittu* (*niitty* in Modern Finnish) gives to the name, will disappear along with the associations the original form of the name carries. The main purpose of a proper name is not to convey information, but to identify (Hakulinen et al. 2004: 549) as well as to set the entity to which they refer apart from other similar entities in, for example, a work of literature. Overall, proper names have “unique denotation” (Quirk et al. 1985: 288) that in most cases lies solely within the source culture, and in that sense they are very culture-specific.

In literature, proper names may serve a number of functions, and this may give rise to the use of different translation strategies. For example, if a particular character in a particular novel is renamed, such as “*Männistön muori*” (KIVI F: 15) in *Seitsemän veljestä* who in the English translations has become either “*Granny Pinewood*” (KIVI E1: 15) or “*Granny Pine*” (KIVI E2: 12), that character will be known by the English readers by its “new” name. The most obvious piece of information that is missing in this kind of situation is the foreign origin of the name which would have been signalled by the linguistic form of the original name. However, if the original name is not replaced, it is left to signal its foreign origin by its foreign form, and even if the target audience could not pronounce the preserved name or recognise its original source-culture connotations, the name would still have the original identifying function. It will still set the character it refers to apart from all the other characters in the novel.

For the purposes of the present study, division of proper names into *non-fictional* and *fictional* ones as suggested by, for example, Hanne Martinet (1980: 59–62) is unsuitable because it cannot always be known whether a given name in the original novel refers to a non-fictional or fictional person or place. For a target-oriented study it is more important to examine the proper names from the point of view of the translation process and the target

culture, and to categorise them according to their basic function *in the source text*. The division suggested by Martinet also seems to overly concentrate on the alleged emotional functions of proper names, thus hinting that when translating proper names, the reactions of the source-culture reader and the target-culture reader should be the same, that is, there should be a *dynamic equivalence* between the original and the translated proper name.

The basic division of proper names into localising and authenticating names employed in this study is based on the concept of *allusion*. Observing the standard definitions in literary studies, Ritva Leppihalme (1994: 5–6) defines allusion generally as “a reference to something”. Comparable to another tropes or figures of speech such as allegory or irony, allusions may be used in a playful or humorous sense. However, not all use of allusion is playful, and for example M. H. Abrams (1993: 8) emphasises the role of an allusion in literary text as “[...] a reference, without explicit identification, to a person, place, or event, or to another literary work or passage”, and states that “[m]ost allusions serve to illustrate or clarify or enhance a subject [...]” (ibid.). In the present study authenticating names are primarily understood as allusions to the Finnish source culture in the form of places and persons that actually exist or have existed, or places and characters in mythology and another literary works.

From the point of view of the translator, localising and authenticating names are different as culture-specific references. While the primary function of localising names is to create the local atmosphere and set the novel in Finland by observing the form of common Finnish personal and place names, authenticating names function as references to pre-existing markers of Finnish culture. In other words, they carry connotations which might theoretically be somewhat familiar also to the English-speaking readers. Therefore, from the point of view of the translator as well as the reader of the translation, authenticating names can be regarded as the more critical category of culture-specific references in that altering or removing them decreases the number of concrete references to the Finnish source culture in the translation. Localising names are, in turn, not so important as critical as culture-specific references as authenticating names because, in most cases, they refer to

the Finnish source culture only by their form, and, from the English-speaking reader's point of view, they do not in most cases carry any further connotations. The greatest differences between the two translations are thus expected to take place in the category of authenticating names. However, the context in which proper names appear in may have an effect on which of the name's associations are activated, and by that means also on the local translation strategy. This is expected to apply especially to localising names.

All in all, proper names are quite ambivalent as culture-specific references: on the one hand they are inseparable parts of their source language and culture, but on the other hand they are most often arbitrary in the sense that they do not need to convey any specific information about the entity they refer to. This is why the present study approaches proper names from the point of view of the function that the names have *in the novel* itself. From the point of view of translation, it is important to examine how the associations and connotations that are activated by the context in which the proper name appears.

3.3 Exoticising and Naturalising as Strategies of Manipulation

In the present study the translation of proper names is examined through a modification of a model originally outlined by James Holmes. According to Holmes (1988: 47–48), a translator translating a poem, or, more generally, creating a text that is closely enough related to the original to be called a translation, is “shifting” the original text not only to another linguistic context but also to another literary intertext and socio-cultural situation. On each of these three planes, Holmes argues, the choices the translator has to make, or the problems s/he encounters, range primarily on the axis of “*exoticising* versus *naturalising*”. The individual choices the translator has to make most often concern specific foreign elements of the original linguistic context, the literary intertext, or the socio-cultural situation. If the translator chooses to leave a given foreign element in place, or *retain* it, that very element will, in its new context, acquire an exotic quality that is not present in its original context. The translator can also *re-create* the original element by modifying or

replacing it, so that it better fits in the target context and is more natural from the point of view of the receiving culture.

As an illustration of the problems a translator might encounter, Holmes (1988: 46) uses a Dutch place name *Bommel* which appears in Martinus Nijhoff's sonnet "*De moeder de vrouw*". Drawing attention to the fact that for an English-language reader *Bommel* does not tell anything in particular, not even that it refers to a place, or that the name has a historical associations as well. Holmes suggests two possibilities for the translator of the poem: s/he can either retain the place name, or decide that *Bommel* is part of the discourse of the poem rather than its story, and replace the original name with one that the English-language reader is familiar with, thus re-creating it for the new target audience. The first option would contribute to an exoticising global strategy in which the foreign origin of the poem is emphasised, and the second one would contribute to a naturalising global strategy in which the poem's foreign origin is hidden.

Although Holmes' model was originally outlined for analysing translations of poetry, it applies to the study of proper name translation in other literary contexts as well. In the present study the novel *Seitsemän veljestä* is seen to be analogous to the Dutch sonnet in Holmes' example, and proper names in it can be placed on a level with the Dutch name *Bommel*. The translator can choose between the two local strategies, that is, retention and re-creation. However, due to the nature of the material, the present study has complemented Holmes' two local strategies with a third one, assimilation. The additional strategy takes into account solutions in which the original Finnish proper name is retained either partly or as a whole, but at the same time made more accessible for the target audience.

As for the first category of localising names, the translator might not necessarily have to resort to major re-creation since the names in essence refer to fictional entities, that is, they in part constitute the novel's story. The situation is considerably different with the category of authenticating names: as these names refer to non-fictional entities they constitute part of the novel's cultural information content. Therefore the translator may have to make a

decision between re-creating the proper names in such a way that some of their associations are conveyed to the English-speaking reader and retaining them so that they are employed as references which signal their foreign origin by their foreign form.

The present study will concentrate on examining how the translation of proper names relates to the global strategies outlined in section 2.2. It will be examined whether the proper names in Alex Matson's translation are translated as culture-specific references with an emphasis on *retention*, so that they are in line with its exoticising character, and in Richard Impola's translation with a stress on *re-creation*, so that they go with its naturalising overall character.

4 PROPER NAMES AS CULTURE-SPECIFIC REFERENCES IN THE ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF *SEITSEMÄN VELJESTÄ*

This chapter presents the results of the analysis and discusses them in the context of the theoretical framework of the study. The findings come from the second and third phase of Toury's DTS methodology where the source text was compared with the target texts. The two target texts were also compared with each other to discover differences between them and draw generalisations concerning the translation strategies. Section 4.1 represents the second phase in the DTS methodology, and in it, the emphasis of the discussion is on the local strategies and the differences in the ways in which the translations deal with the original proper names. In section 4.2 which represents the third and final phase, the findings based on local strategies are contrasted with the overall translation strategies outlined in section 2.2. The section will focus on the way the translation of proper names contributes to each translation's overall, or global translation strategy.

The primary goal of the study was to detect possible differences between the two translations and to examine which local strategies they have applied to different types of proper names. The strategies were categorised as those that retain the original name and its Finnishness, those that make the Finnishness of the original proper names more accessible for the target audience, and those that create something new. It is expected that Alex Matson's translation especially emphasises the Finnishness of authenticating names referring, for example, to Finnish national epic *Kalevala* and folk mythology because these sources in particular were topical in the construction of the Finnish identity at the time. Similarly, Richard Impola's translation is expected to favour the assimilative strategy to retain the name's Finnishness to some extent, but also to make it more accessible for the target audience.

Altogether 2030 proper names were identified in the original Finnish novel. However, this number does not include proper names belonging to the categories that were excluded from the study, that is, non-culture-specific internationalisms, such as references to religious

concepts that are shared by Finnish and Anglo-American cultures or to geographical areas outside Finland, as well as proper names that appeared in passages written in verse. The analysis concentrated on the instances of proper names which the two translations had dealt with by using different local strategies; there were 171 of such instances, and these instances constitute the material that was analysed.

4.1 Local Translation Strategies

The analysis of local translation strategies represented the second phase in Toury's DTS methodology in which the source text and the target text were compared in detail to discover shifts, or differences between them. Because the analysis expressly aimed to bring forth the differences between the two translations, it concentrated only on the 171 instances of proper name which had been treated differently by the translations. The analysis was not concerned with determining the distinction between a "correct" translation and an "incorrect" one. Because the difference between the two translations was ultimately dealt with in terms of highlighting and hiding the Finnishness of the original proper names, it was not important whether "*Kuttila*" (KIVI F: 146) was translated as "*Kattila*" (KIVI E2: 121) or "*Hemmolan Juho*" (KIVI F: 78) as "*Juha Hemmola*" (KIVI E2: 65) as long as the name that appeared in the translation was clearly tied to the source culture instead of the target one. However, if the Finnish name contained Scandinavian letters such as ä or ö, and they were removed or replaced in the translation, the translator was considered to have used the assimilative strategy.

The study showed that from the point of view of culture-specificity, not all proper names have a similar function in the text, and that the context in which the proper name appears has a great influence on the eventual choice of the local translation strategy. The findings also suggest that while there were no major differences in the ways in which the translations dealt with proper names belonging to the category of localising names, proper names belonging to the category of authenticating names were treated very differently. In

the discussion that follows, the passage with the proper name from the original novel is given first. It is followed by a literal translation which is mine. Finally, the literal translation is then followed by those completed by Alex Matson in 1929 and Richard Impola in 1991. For the sake of clarity, the proper names or words referred to in the discussion will be italicised in all four passages.

4.1.1 Localising Names

The category of localising names includes proper names which are created specifically for the novel. There were altogether 141 instances of localising names which the translations had dealt with differently. In most cases these names observe the form of common Finnish personal or place names, but since they do not have a specific function as markers of Finnish culture, they do not contribute to the authenticity of the setting. However, they may have other functions in the source text, some of which are more culture-specific than others and which largely depend on the context in which the name appears.

The majority of localising names refer to the novel's characters and places. Some localising names also refer to persons or places which do not appear in the novel, that is, which are only mentioned in the dialogue. Localising names have therefore two main purposes in the novel: they are used either to identify the novel's characters and places by setting them apart from the other characters and places in the novel, or to refer to a person or a place outside the "world" of the novel. As localising names most often observe the form and structure of common Finnish personal and place names, they also identify the characters and places as Finnish. Furthermore, they emphasise the fact that the novel is supposed to be set in Finland by referring to persons and places beyond the storyline of the novel that are named according to the Finnish custom.

Both translations of *Seitsemän veljestä* preferred retentive and re-creative strategies to the assimilative one in the category of localising names. Diagram 1 shows that while there are no major differences in regard to the ways in which the translations retain localising names,

the earlier translation re-creates the names clearly more often than the later one. The diagram also shows that although the later translation employs the assimilative strategy considerably more often than the earlier one, the strategy is not as popular one as the other two in either of the translations.

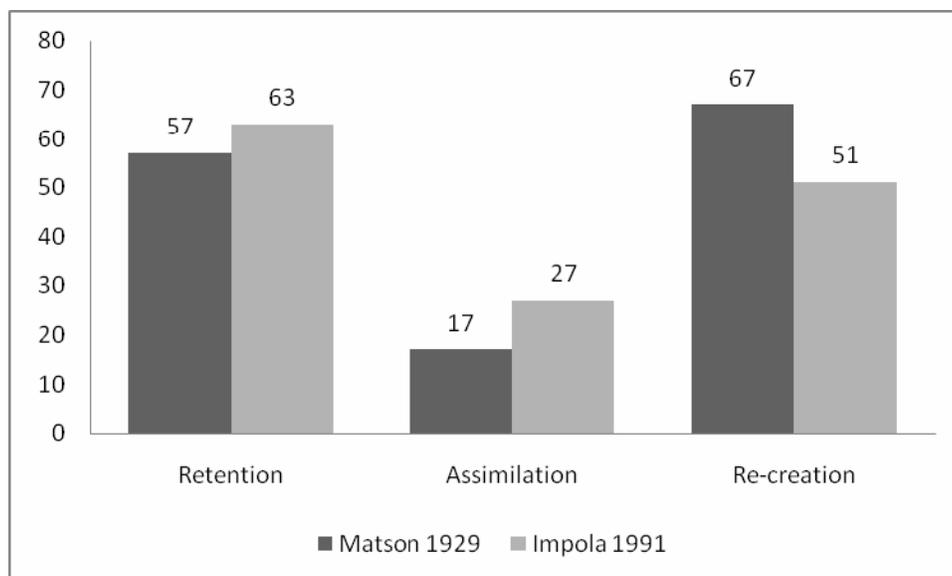


Diagram 1. Translation strategies for localising names

The translations differed most in regard to the strategy of re-creation. While the earlier translation re-created localising names in 67 instances, the later one re-created them in 51 instances. Both translations favoured omission as a re-creative strategy, the earlier one in 56 instances and the later one in 47 instances. Actual re-creation, that is, replacing a Finnish proper name with a new English one, was not a major strategy in the category of localising names, although it was done more often in the earlier translation (11 instances) than in the later one (4 instances).

Omitted proper names were usually names of the central characters which appear frequently in the dialogue. Some of these recurring names may have been considered redundant by the translators and therefore omitted. Since omissions of the names of the central characters are uninteresting from the point of view of culture-specificity, the

following discussion will concentrate on re-creations, that is, instances in which the original Finnish name has been replaced with a new English one.

Localising names were re-created by replacing them with an English name more often in the earlier translation. In most of the instances in which the earlier translation had re-created a completely new name, the later translation retained the original name. The earlier translation usually re-created localising names which refer to persons and places outside the immediate setting of the novel and which only appear once or twice in the story. In example 8, the earlier translation re-creates the name *Räihä*, a name appearing only once in the novel, as *Sorrow*:

(8) Hyvää päivää, Ukko *Räihä*! (KIVI F: 185).

Good day, old man *Räihä*!

Good morrow, old man *Sorrow* (KIVI E1: 193).

Good day, Grandpa *Räihä*! (KIVI E2: 153).

Ukko Räihä is in this example is referred to by Lauri, usually the calmest and quietest of the seven brothers, who in this situation is in a rare state of intoxication and speaks nonsense to the rest of the brothers. In example 8, the main function of the name *Räihä* is, similarly to many of the other proper names appearing in Lauri's "mock sermon", to complete a rhyme. Also the local strategy employed in the earlier translation aims at preserving the rhyme by re-creating the original Finnish name *Räihä* which rhymes with the Finnish expression *hyvää päivää* [good day] as *Sorrow* which rhymes with the archaic English expression *good morrow*. The later translation has in turn retained the original Finnish name, thus eliminating the name's primary function as a rhyming element, but at the same time emphasising its Finnishness.

Although the names of the central characters are retained as a rule in both translations, their function as affective expressions have often led the translators to choose different local strategies. In example 9, the earlier translation re-creates *Jussi-kulta* as *Jack-darling*:

- (9) Juuri niin, “*Jussi-kulta*” (KIVI F: 134).

Exactly, ”*Jussi-darling*”

Just so, *Jack-darling* (KIVI E1: 137).

You’re exactly right, dear *Jussi* (KIVI E2: 111).

The remark in example 9 is made by Eero, the youngest and the wittiest of the seven brothers. By *Jussi-kulta* [dear Jussi] he refers to the eldest brother Juhani. *Jussi* appears many times in the novel as an affective form of the name *Juhani*, and it is usually retained in both of the translations. However, since the Finnish *Juhani* in many respects resembles the English *John*, in some occasions the Finnish *Juhani* - *Jussi* analogy seems to have been replaced with the equivalent English *John* - *Jack* analogy. Especially in collocations involving a Finnish name and an affective word such as *kulta* [darling], the original Finnish collocation has been entirely replaced with a closely matching English collocation. Although this feature is not very dominant in either of the translations, in this particular example the later translation retained the original name *Jussi*.

Also the later translation occasionally re-creates names with affective function. In example 10, the Finnish expression *Timo-poloinen* [poor Timo] has been re-created by the later translation as *my poor Timmy*. The remark is made by Juhani to his brother Timo, who has, as one of the less sharp-witted of the brothers, not fully understood an allegorical tale Juhani has told shortly before:

- (10) Mutta usko minua, niin kiitänpä Jumalaa siitä, etten ole niin tyhmä kuin sinä, *Timo-poloinen* (KIVI F: 66).

But believe me, I thank God that I am not as stupid as you, poor Timo.

Believe me, I thank God that I am not as stupid as thou, poor *Timo* (KIVI E1: 69).

Believe me, I thank God I’m not as dumb as you are, my poor *Timmy* (KIVI E2: 55).

Example 10 is analogous to example 9 in that in it a typical Finnish affective collocation involving the adjective *poloinen* [poor] is replaced with a typical English affective collocation *my poor*. However, in example 10 the Finnish name *Timo* has been replaced with *Timmy*, a diminutive form of the English name Tim or Timothy, usually used in the context of children. Therefore, while the earlier translation retained the original name and emphasised its Finnishness, the later translation employed a way of referring to Timo as a childish or a childlike character by using the form *Timmy* that is specific to the Anglo-American culture.

Another type of affective name that has led the translators to employ different local strategies is one which explicitly describes the qualities of the character which it refers to. In example 11, which is an excerpt from a passage told by the novel's narrator, the later translation re-creates *Mörökölli* as *Sourpuss*:

- (11) Ja vaunuissa, siellä näit sinä pikisäkin, sarvipussin ja vasikannahkaisen repun, jossa löytyi Mikon, Heikan ja *Mörököllin* veitset [...] (KIVI F: 290).

And on the cart, there you saw a sack of pitch, a bag of horns and a calf-skin backpack, in which could be found Mikko's, Heikka's and *Mörökölli's* knives

And on the waggon was a sack of pitch, the horn-bag and a calf-skin pouch in which were the knives of Mikko, Heikki [sic] and *Mörökölli* [...] (KIVI E1: 295).

On the cart, you could see the sack of pitch, the bag of cupping horns, and the calf-skin pack holding Mikko's, Heikka's, and *Sourpuss's* knives (KIVI E2: 238).

The “nicknames” *Mörökölli* and *Sourpuss* are culture-specific in that as common names they are standard expressions for an introvert, even unfriendly person in both Finnish and English. Therefore, while the earlier translation retained the Finnishness of the original name but did not convey its culture-specific connotation, the later translation replaces the Finnish name with a matching English one, thus preserving the connotation of the name rather than its Finnishness.

Instances in which one of the translations has replaced the original name with an English one while the other has employed the assimilative strategy are few. One of the most prominent examples of this is the place name *Ojaniittu*, which the earlier translation has consistently re-created as *Brook Meadow* and the later one consistently assimilated as *Oja meadow*, as in example 12:

- (12) Äkisti kiirehtii hän katsomaan hevosia *Ojaniitulla*, näkee siellä Impivaaran molemmat nuoret tammatt, hän näkee, mutta ei kuitenkaa [sic] näe (KIVI F: 302).

Suddenly he hurries to look at the horses in *Ojaniittu*, sees both of Impivaara's young mares there, he sees, but yet he does not see.

And suddenly he hastened out to look at the horses in *Brook Meadow*, and there looked upon the two young mares from Impivaara, but seeing them saw them not (KIVI E1: 308).

Suddenly he rushes out to look at the horses in *Oja meadow*, and sees, yet doesn't see, both of Impivaara's young mares there (KIVI E2: 248).

Since *Ojaniittu* has been translated as *Brook Meadow* in the earlier translation and *Oja meadow* in the later one consistently, the context in which the place name appears seems to have had no effect on the way the name is treated. This does not, however, apply to all place names; in most cases the original place names are either retained or assimilated by adding an explaining word after the Finnish name such as *hill*, *swamp*, *village* or *farm* depending on the context. Instances in which the later translation re-creates a name and the earlier one would assimilate it were not found in the material.

So far it would seem that one of the most prominent culture-specific factors leading to situations in which one translation replaces the original Finnish localising name with an English name while the other one retains it, is the original name's affective function. In these kinds of situations the choices available to the translator seem to consist of two possibilities: to emphasise the Finnishness of the original name by retaining it, or to replace the Finnish name with an English one which does not convey the Finnishness of the original name, but does convey the affective function. However, although the affective

function is a prominent feature causing differences between the translations' local strategies in the category of localising names, the real differences do not seem to derive from their ways of retaining or re-creating the affective names, but from their strategy of omitting the original localising names. As diagram 1 showed, the earlier translation re-creates localising names more often than the later one, but the difference is not that significant when contrasted to the overall number of localising names.

The majority of assimilated names were place names in both translations, which can be explained, maybe, with the way in which Finnish place names are most commonly formed. In *Seitsemän veljestä*, names of places usually follow a common compound-structure of Finnish place names which consist of an actual proper name accompanied by a common name part which describes the kind of place (Kiviniemi 1990: 90). The proper names can be either transparent or opaque: while transparent names have an explicit meaning and, in most cases, can be used also as common nouns, opaque names do not have these properties (ibid. 13). This kind of formal and semantic structure allows, for example, the common name part to be separated from the proper name part and translated into English while retaining the actual proper name part. If a place name consists of only one word, it is still possible to assimilate it by retaining the name and adding a word that describes the place.

Most commonly the strategy to assimilate a place name depends on what has been said about the place previously. In example 13, the place name *Kourusuo* is assimilated in the earlier translation with an explanatory common name, but retained without an explanation in the later one:

- (13) Hän tuumiskeli millä keinolla näillä kotopitäjän mailla saataisiin aikaan pyynti, joka vetäisi vertaa tuolle äsken kerrotulle Pimentolan *soilla*. Hän muisteli *Kourusuota*, jossa tosin ei löytynyt kurkia, mutta laikkokylkisiä sorsia viljavalta (KIVI F: 158).

He thought about a way in which a hunt could be arranged here in his home parish that would compare to the previously related one in the swamps of Pimentola. He thought about *Kourusuo* where in fact there were no cranes, but plenty of ducks with speckled sides.

He pondered over the best way to arrange a hunting-trip in his own parish that would compare with the newly related from the *lands* of darkness. He thought of *Kourusuo Bog*, where, although cranes there were none, there were plenty of speckly-feathered wild duck (KIVI E1: 162).

He pondered over the means to carry out a hunt here in his home parish that would rival the one in the dark *swamps* he had just heard about. He thought of *Kourusuo*, which in fact had no cranes, but teemed with speckled ducks (KIVI E2: 131).

The name *Kourusuo* follows the common compound-structure of Finnish place names and is transparent in that both of its parts have an explicit meaning in Finnish. It could therefore be translated into English literally as, for example, *Gutterswamp*. However, neither of the translations has re-created the name. The difference in the translation strategies can, in this particular example, be explained with the way in which the place *Kourusuo* is introduced. While the earlier translation compares *Kourusuo* with “lands of darkness”, the later compares it with “dark swamps”. Therefore, as the information that *Kourusuo* is in fact a swamp or a bog is not provided before the place name, the earlier translation assimilates *Kourusuo* as *Kourusuo Bog*. The later translation provides the information that *Kourusuo* compares with “dark swamps”, and therefore the place name itself can be retained. For place names, the context of the name can therefore have a decisive effect on whether the name is retained or not.

Although the local strategies employed by the two translations do not differ considerably from each other in the category of localising names, it would seem that the function of the proper name as well as the context in which it appears can have a major influence in which translation strategy is eventually chosen. Furthermore, not all local strategies can be interpreted in terms of culture-specificity, and some solutions are in fact purely pragmatic, as was evident in example 13. However, the translations differed, to some extent, from each other in regard to the local strategies of assimilation and re-creation. The differences in the way the translations re-create localising names derive from the fact that the earlier translation omits proper names in more instances than the later one. The differences in regard to the strategy of assimilation are in turn almost exclusively caused by place names.

4.1.2 Authenticating Names

The category of authenticating names includes proper names which refer to existing, non-fictional markers of the Finnish source culture such as towns, provinces, non-fictional persons, as well as names which derive from Finnish folk mythology or which appear in other Finnish literary works such as *Kalevala*. The material contained altogether 30 instances of authenticating names which the two translations had treated differently. These names most commonly consisted of only one word, but there were also compound place names containing an authenticating name as the proper name part. Authenticating names were most commonly opaque, that is, unlike transparent names they do not have any explicit meaning in modern Finnish (Kiviniemi 1990: 13) apart from signifying the entity they assign a name. Because these names are in many cases difficult to translate literally as calques, re-creating them is often possible only by replacing them with a new name.

Similarly to the category of localising names, the translations do not differ significantly in regard to their overall use of the retentive strategy. However, they employ assimilative and re-creative strategies very differently, as is shown in diagram 2.

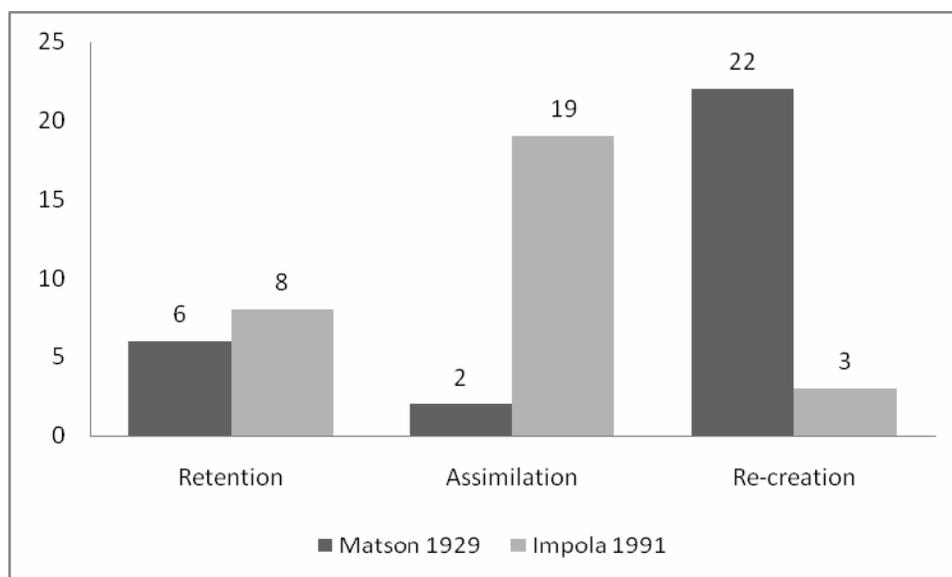


Diagram 2. Translation strategies for authenticating names

While the earlier translation in most instances re-creates authenticating names, the later translation assimilates them. The difference in the ways in which the translations apply the re-creative strategy to authenticating names cannot be explained with the number of omissions since there are six omissions in the earlier translation and only one in the later one. From the point of view of culture-specificity this means that references to existing markers of Finnish culture are almost consistently replaced with English names in the earlier translation, and made more accessible for the English-speaking readers in the later one.

The context of example 14 is the same as in example 8, that is, Lauri's "mock sermon". In both examples a proper name is used as a rhyming element. In example 14, the element is the name of a Finnish town *Uusikaupunki*, which is retained in the earlier translation and re-created literally as *Newtown* in the later one:

- (14) Tulin siitä Poriin, pantiin pärekoriin ja vedettiin pitkin torii; tulin *Uuteenkaupunkiin*, siellä akkunasta haukuttiin [...] (KIVI F: 186).

I came to Pori then where I was put in a splint basket and dragged along the market square; I came to *Uusikaupunki*, there I was abused from a window [...]

I came along to Pori, they put me in a basket there and dragged me round the market square; to *Uusikaupunki* I roam, they called me names from every home [...] (KIVI E1: 193–194).

I came to Pori then where they put me in a pen and hauled me round the fair. So on to *Newtown* where everyone called me down (KIVI E2: 154).

In example 8 it was the earlier translation in which a re-creative strategy was favoured, whereas in example 14, which this time involves an authenticating name, the earlier translation retains the name while the later one re-creates it. The earlier translation has, instead of retaining the original *Uusikaupunki*, preserved the rhyme by using the contrast *roam – home*. In the later translation the rhyme is created by using the re-creation *Newtown* paired with the English idiom "called me down". The earlier translation has therefore clearly made an effort to preserve the Finnishness of the original authenticating name even

though it only has a stylistic function as a rhyming element. This finding is even more interesting in that in example 8, which involved a localising name, the original name was re-created: therefore it would appear that a name referring to an existing, non-fictional entity is treated differently than a localising name with a same kind of function.

Example 15 involves yet another confrontation between Juhani and Eero, the eldest and the youngest of the seven brothers. This is a part of Juhani's rather rude response to one of Eero's witticisms:

(15) Kitas kiinni, sinä *Lopen* pahalainen [...] (KIVI F: 286).

Shut your mouth, you devil from *Loppi* [...]

Hold thy jaw, thou *Loppi's* devil [...] (KIVI E1: 291).

Shut your mouth, you *godless* imp [...] (KIVI E2: 234).

In this example the function of *Loppi*, a place name referring to a municipality in eastern Finland, is equally ambiguous as in example 14 since its function is not to refer to the place. Instead, it is used metaphorically to give a certain emphasis to Juhani's accusation. While the earlier translation retains the authenticating name, the later translation replaces it with an English adjective *godless* which, however, bears some phonetic resemblance to the original Finnish name *Loppi*.

Unlike in the previous examples, in examples 16 and 17 authenticating place names are used to refer to the actual place the name identifies. However, the function of the names in them is different. In example 16, the novel's narrator describes the unrivalled sense of direction of Taula-Matti (Tinder-Matti), a minor character in the novel, whom the brothers admire:

(16) Jos esimerkiksi häneltä kysyt: "missä on *Vuokatti*", vastasi hän kohta, puskien peukalonsa kohden taivaan reunaan: "tuolla; katso pitkin peukaloani; tuolla, vaikkas ampuisit" (KIVI F: 152).

If, for example, you asked him: "where is *Vuokatti*", he soon answered, thrusting his thumb towards the horizon: "there; look along my thumb; there, you could shoot there.

If for instance you asked him: "where is *Vuokatti Fell*?" he would answer at once, butting his thumb at the horizon: "there; look along my thumb; over there, couldst shoot it (KIVI E1: 156).

If, for example, you asked, "Where is *Vuokatti*?" he would answer promptly by shoving a thumb toward the horizon: "There, sight along my thumb, you'd hit it if you shot there (KIVI E2: 126).

The place name *Vuokatti*, which refers to a specific hill in the north-east of Finland, functions in this context as a reference to a place that is far away. As the novel is set in the province of *Häme* which is located in north-eastern Finland, Taula-Matti's ability to locate the direction in which *Vuokatti* lies emphasises his skills as a hunter. The earlier translation has decided to assimilate the place name as *Vuokatti Fell*, suggesting the association with the English word for a mountainous landscape, which in England, however, is specifically associated with the Scottish highlands. Therefore the earlier translation has substituted the culture-specific information associated with the word "fell" for the culture-specific information about a "distant place". The later translation has, however, retained the name *Vuokatti* as it is in the source text, thus emphasising its Finnishness.

There are very few personal names amongst the instances of authenticating names which were dealt with differently by the two translations. In example 17, Aapo, one of the brothers, compares Lauri to a fictional mechanical device that was, according to Finnish folk tradition, created by a watchmaker named *Könni*:

- (17) En vertaa sinua jänikseen arkuudessa, siihen ei ole syytä, en liikuntoskaan tähden, sillä Lauri astelee kuin seppä *Könnin* kuokkamies, – jonka jalkoja ja kuokkaa käytteli sukkela kellovärkki mahassa [...] (KIVI F: 133).

I am not comparing you to a hare in your timidity, there is no reason for that, nor in the way you move, because Lauri steps forward like the watchmaker *Könni's* hoe-man, – whose legs and hoe was operated by a swift clockwork in its belly [...]

Mind, I'm not calling thee a hare for your bravery, there's no call for that, nor for thy walk, for Lauri steps out like blacksmith *Könni's* hoer – whose feet and hoe were moved by a tricky clockwork in its belly [...] (KIVI E1: 136).

I'm not calling you a rabbit because you are timid, Lauri – no cause for that – or because of the way you move – you march away like *Konni* the smith's figure with the hoe, which has a nifty clockworks in its belly to move its feet and how [...] (KIVI E2: 110).

Although the tale about “*Könni's* hoe-man” is specific to the Finnish source-culture, neither of the translations has replaced it with a reference with a similar English or American tale. Instead, the earlier translation retains the proper name *Könni*, while the later one assimilates it by modifying the spelling and replacing the Scandinavian letter *ö* with *o*.

In most of the previous examples the earlier translation has retained the original authenticating proper name. However, with proper names referring to the Finnish folk epic *Kalevala* and Finnish folk mythology, the situation seems to be different. In example 18 the brothers, chased by a herd of skittish bulls, are heading for a large rock named *Hiidenkivi* in hope of refuge:

- (18) Mutta kaikui taasen Aapon huulilta surkeasti kiljuva huuto: “*Hiidenkivelle, Hiidenkivelle!*” (KIVI F: 167).

But again echoed a miserably squealing yell from Aapo's lips: “to *Hiidenkivi*, to *Hiidenkivi!*”.

And again a despairing, shrieking cry broke from Aapo's lips: “To the *Devil's Rock*, to the *Devil's Rock!*” [...] (KIVI E1: 172).

But once more Aapo shrieked out miserably, “To *Hiisi Rock*, to *Hiisi Rock!*” (KIVI E2: 138).

The place name *Hiidenkivi* is a transparent one, consisting of a genitive proper name part “*Hiiden*” which refers to a malignant, goblin or spirit-like *Hiisi*-character appearing in Finnish folk mythology as well as *Kalevala* (Turunen 1979: 48), and a common name part “*kivi*”, the Finnish word for a rock. The earlier translation has re-created the proper name as

Devil's Rock by substituting *Hiisi* with *Devil*, thus hiding the Finnishness of the original name. The later translation in turn preserves the reference to the *Hiisi*-character, thus assimilating the original proper name as *Hiisi Rock*.

The name *Hiisi* appears in many different contexts in *Seitsemän veljestä*, sometimes as a direct reference to the mythical *Hiisi*-character, and sometimes as a metaphorical or symbolic device which is intended to give certain bleak qualities to the entity it is used in connection with. *Hiisi* is also frequently used as a swearword, but in these cases it is not a proper name. In example 19, *Hiisi* appears as an active character in a story about the origin of the place name *Hiidenkivi* as told by Aapo:

- (19) Silloin *Hiisi*, käyskellen Pohjan-perän kolkoissa laaksoissa, tunki äkisti sydämensä kiertyvän ja tiesi kohta, että kultainen varsansa vaelteli vaarassa (KIVI F: 169).

Then *Hiisi*, roaming the gloomy valleys of the far North, suddenly felt his heart twist and soon knew that his golden foal wandered in danger.

At that the *Prince of the Underworld*, pacing the dismal valleys of the uttermost north, felt a sudden pang at his heart and knew at once that his golden elk walked in danger (KIVI E1 1959: 175).

At that moment *Hiisi*, who was journeying through the gloomy valleys of outer Lapland felt a sudden twinge in his heart and knew that his golden young elk was in danger (KIVI E2: 140).

Again the earlier translation re-creates the name *Hiisi* by replacing with an English name, while the later translation retains it as it is in the source text. However, the earlier translation does not re-create *Hiisi*, the creator of the rock, logically as “Devil” (as in *Devil's Rock*), but as *Prince of the Underworld*. This is due to the fact that the context in which the name appears affects the associations it receives. In example 18 the associations of the name *Hiidenkivi* suggested that the rock was, as unnaturally large one, a creation of the Devil. However, in example 19 the same analogy does not work anymore, as the *Hiisi*-character appearing in Aapo's story is clearly not the Devil. Therefore *Hiisi* has been given a new name, *Prince of the Underworld*, which describes the character much better in its

new context. The later translation has in turn chosen to retain the name *Hiisi* and highlight its Finnishness in all contexts.

Apart from personal names such as *Hiisi*, also some place names from Finnish folk mythology and the national epic *Kalevala* appear in *Seitsemän veljestä*. Example 20 describes the brothers' good luck in fishing and hunting, but does it by using the culture-specific proper names *Ahtola* and *Tapiola*:

- (20) Ja silloin *Ahtolan* ja *Tapiolan* asujamista moni henkensä heitti (KIVI F: 151).

And at that time many inhabitants of *Ahtola* and *Tapiola* lost their lives.

And in those days many dwellers in the *woods* and *waters* gave up their lives (KIVI E1: 156).

So many a denizen of *Ahti's waters* and *Tapio's woods* met its doom (KIVI E2: 125).

Ahtola and *Tapiola* are used in the novel occasionally to refer to waters and forests, respectively; the literal translation of *Ahtola* would be “the domain of *Ahti*”, the Finnish pagan god of water, and of *Tapiola* “the domain on *Tapio*”, the Finnish pagan god of water (Turunen 1979: 13, 330). The earlier translation has again chosen to hide the Finnishness of the original names and references to Finnish mythology by omitting the proper names and re-creating them by using the common names *woods* and *waters* instead. The later translation assimilates the names as *Ahti's waters* and *Tapio's woods*, thus retaining the original proper names and references to Finnish mythology.

All in all, it is clear that the differences between the translations are much more pronounced in the category of authenticating names than in the category of localising names. In this category the context of the proper name and its effect on the name's connotations are important as well, but due to the fact that authenticating names refer to non-fictional markers of Finnish culture, their assimilation or re-creation has a greater effect on the culture-specificity of the target text. The greatest differences between the translations were

caused by names referring to *Kalevala* and Finnish folk mythology, which were all (22 instances) re-created by the earlier translation.

4.2 Global Translation Strategies

This section represents the third phase in Toury's DTS methodology in which generalisations regarding the global, or overall translation strategies are drawn on the basis of the local solutions. Diagram 3 shows the distribution of local translation strategies in the two translations for both categories of proper names.

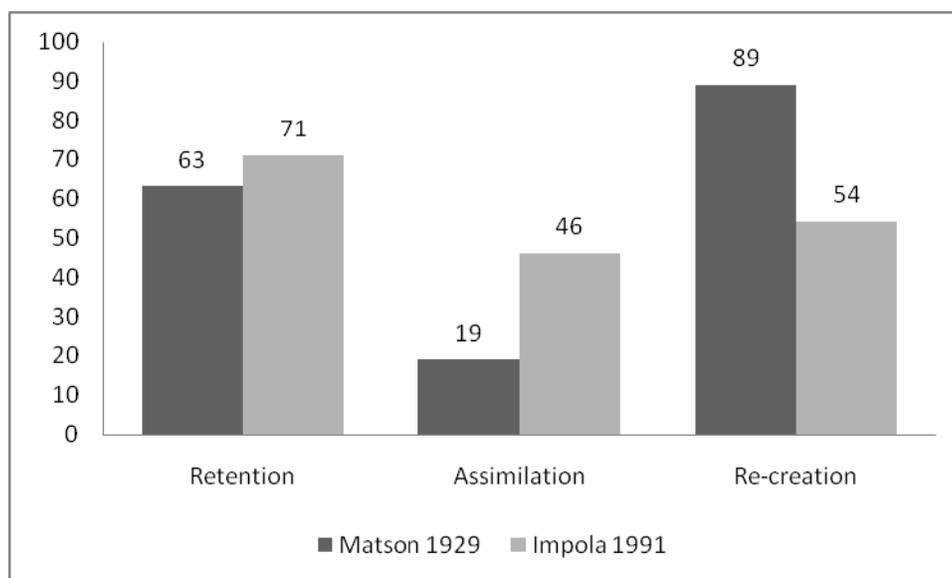


Diagram 3. Translation strategies for all proper names

The two translations do not differ considerably in regard to their use of the retentive strategy. However, the other two strategies are subject to greater variation: while the earlier translation clearly favours the re-creative strategy, the later one employs the assimilative strategy significantly more often. Moreover, while in the earlier translation the re-creative strategy is clearly the most prominent one and assimilation clearly the least prominent one, in the later translation differences between different local strategies are not that distinct.

In section 2.2 an overall translation strategy was outlined for each translation. The translations were examined from the point of view of their language and the way in which some of the culture-specific items such as proverbs were translated. Also the translators' prefaces were examined in order to determine the way in which they have understood the source text and its position in the source culture. On the basis of these points of concern it was suggested that the earlier translation would follow an *exoticising* strategy which would aim at highlighting the Finnishness of the present the work and its culture-specific details. The later translation was in turn suggested to follow a *naturalising* strategy which makes no effort to preserve the Finnishness of the source text and its culture-specific details.

The above diagram together with the previous discussion on localising and authenticating names suggests that unlike what was originally expected, the earlier translation of *Seitsemän veljestä* from 1929 does not exclusively exoticise the original proper names as it prefers the re-creative strategy to the other two possible strategies. The later translation from 1991 does, however, apply the naturalising strategy also to proper names since it clearly favours assimilative and re-creative strategies. The findings also suggest that the earlier translation takes a very dichotomous stance towards preserving the Finnishness of the original proper names. The assimilative strategy is used relatively seldom in the earlier translation, and the majority of proper names are translated either by preserving the original name, or by re-creating it either by replacing it with a new English name or omitting it. The fact that the later translation employs all three strategies quite evenly suggests that it does not make an effort to explicitly highlight the Finnishness of the original proper names, but tries to make it more accessible for the target audience.

The analysis also revealed that the context in which the name appears in the source text may indeed have a major effect on the translation strategy. The local functions of the Finnish proper names greatly depend on their immediate context which activates only some of the associations and connotations the names have in the Finnish source culture and language. While the earlier translation deals with the original proper names almost exclusively in terms of retention and re-creation, that is, either by highlighting the

Finnishness of the original name by retaining its form or hiding the Finnishness by creating a new English name, the later translation employs all three strategies quite evenly, thus appearing to pay more attention to the context of the name and making an effort to choose a strategy which best conveys the primary connotation of the name in a particular context.

In the category of localising names the differences between the translations were not great. The earlier translation was characterised by omissions of personal names which appeared often in the dialogue, but most of these omissions were pragmatic by nature and obviously not done for culture-specific reasons. The later translation also omitted personal names, but was more noticeably characterised by a tendency to assimilate the Finnish place names by, for example, translating a part of the proper name into English or providing the name with an explanation which was not present in the source text instead of re-creating them. In the category of authenticating names, however, the differences between the translations were significant. The later translation favoured the assimilative strategy almost exclusively, while the earlier translation was inclined to re-create the original proper names almost without exception. An interesting individual trend was that all authenticating names that were re-created in the earlier translation referred either to *Kalevala* or Finnish folk mythology, which was completely against what was originally assumed. In the later translation these references were assimilated.

Although the results for the two categories are fundamentally different, a certain consistency can be noticed in the ways in which the translations treat the original Finnish proper names. The most obvious trend is that the translations employ the retentive strategy equally often in both categories, and therefore the difference between the translations does not seem to derive from their use of the retentive strategy, but from the other two. The assimilative strategy is employed somewhat more often in the category of localising names by the later translation, and in the category of authenticating names this tendency is further emphasised. The situation is the opposite with the re-creative strategy, which is employed by the earlier translation somewhat more in the category of localising names, and significantly more in the category of authenticating names.

When the results of the proper name analysis are contrasted with the outlined overall strategies, it becomes clear that of the two English translations of *Seitsemän veljestä* the later one from 1991 applies a *naturalising* global strategy to the original Finnish proper names. This argument is supported by the fact that the later translation employs all local strategies included in the present study, and does it in such a way that none of them stands out as clearly the prevailing one. This suggests that the context of the proper names is more carefully taken into consideration in it than in the earlier translation, and that an attempt has been made to convey their culture-specific associations and connotations to the target audience, most notably by employing the assimilative strategy. Therefore it can be concluded that the assumption that the later translation would deal with the original proper names in such a way that their Finnishness would become more accessible for the target audience mainly consisting of American Finns and their descendants is correct.

Since the later translation by Richard Impola seems to treat the Finnish proper names according to the overall naturalising strategy, the main interest is therefore on the earlier translation, and particularly on the discord that seems to prevail between the overall exoticising strategy and the tendency to favour re-creation of the original proper names. In other words, even though the earlier translation seems to interpret the novel as a national romantic work instead of a realist one, makes a clear effort to represent Kivi's idiosyncratic style of writing by using archaic English, and translates many of the Finnish proverbs in the novel literally, it most often either substitutes the original Finnish proper names with new English proper or common names, or omits them completely.

The findings of Pekka Kujamäki's study provide an important point of comparison for the findings of the present study. According to Kujamäki (2000: 222–224), the latest German translation of *Seitsemän veljestä* from 1989 by Erhard Fritz Schiefer is characterised, in particular, by the heavy modernisation of the dialogue and the way in which the translator has explained the details he has himself considered culture-specific. Furthermore, Schiefer's translation is explicitly founded on the leading principle of skopos theory, according to which the purpose of the translation justifies the means used in it. The latest

German translation puts the emphasis on the German target audience and makes an effort to achieve coherence between the translation and the target culture. This resembles the way in which the later English translation of *Seitsemän veljestä* seems to have put the emphasis on the target audience by using modern language that is familiar to it, and by employing a strategy which best conveys the culture-specific associations of the Finnish proper names to the target audience. Furthermore, the latest German translation contained features which often break the cultural coherence of the original text, and the same was evident in the later English translation in which the brothers, living in the 19th-century rural Finland, frequently use expressions such as “Holy Jesus and Jumping Jacks” (KIVI E2: 22).

The first English translation and the first German translation of *Seitsemän veljestä* seem to differ more from each other than was the case with the English and German translations published towards the end of the 20th century. According to Kujamäki (2000: 205–206), the first German translation from 1921 by Gustav Schmidt made an effort to be faithful to Aleksis Kivi’s style, and especially Finnish details, specific to the place and time of the original work, as well as nature-metaphors were well represented. The most noticeable changes in comparison with the source text are constituted by occasional omissions and replacements of Finnish culture-specific references with matching German ones. All in all the first German translation was characterised by an aim to provide the German readers with information and even a certain kind of “enlightenment” on Finland and the Finnish way of life. According to Kujamäki, this aim was called for by the commissioner of the translation, the Finnish Literature Society; the ultimate purpose was to make use of *Seitsemän veljestä* as a “flagship” of Finnish literature and Finnishness in general in a culture-political mission to Germany.

Like the first German translation, the earlier English translation made an effort to convey Kivi’s original style of writing, and to highlight the foreignness of the Finnish proverbs by translating them literally. However, it re-created both localising and authenticating proper names in a way that cannot be regarded as “occasional”. The later English translation does not therefore seem to be making an effort to highlight the Finnishness of *all* culture-specific

items, but, on the contrary, re-creates proper names systematically. This finding is very interesting because usually a successful realisation of the global, or overall strategy is seen to depend on what is done locally (Leppihalme 2001: 140). However, a considerable number of the original proper names were retained as they were in the source text, and some are even assimilated. Therefore it cannot be argued that the earlier translation is entirely naturalising either; the exoticising global strategy is merely called into question by the dominance of re-creation as a local translation strategy. The conclusion is that the global strategy of the earlier translation cannot be defined as reliably as that of the later one's by the method of the present study.

As James Holmes (1988: 48) states, in reality translations are never entirely exoticising or naturalising; in practice, translators perform a series of *pragmatic* choices as they go about their task, dealing with a particular element according to various circumstances. It has to be remembered that a translation strategy is, at best, a *potentially* conscious procedure which an individual translator may turn to in order to solve a certain translational problem (Lörscher quoted in Leppihalme 2001: 140). Therefore the view that pure exoticising or naturalising translations are rarely, if ever actually possible is supported by this study. Not even a canonised, nationally interpreted Finnish work that is translated within the influence of Finnish culture in a time when Finnishness of various kinds of cultural exports was generally emphasised is presented to the target culture as absolutely exotic or absolutely Finnish. In reality an absolutely exoticising or naturalising translation would not serve the interests of neither the commissioner, the publisher, nor the target audience.

5 CONCLUSIONS

The present study set out to examine the use of proper names as culture-specific references in two English translations of *Seitsemän veljestä* with the assumption that the earlier translation from 1929 would retain the Finnishness of the proper names more explicitly than the later translation from 1991. The study adopted the view of translation as manipulation, according to which the source text is always adapted, and the adaptation is affected by the cultural context of the receiver or, as was the case in the present study, the translator. The assumption of the difference between the translations was mainly founded on the fact that the cultural setting in which the translations were made, published and marketed were considerably different. While the earlier translation was made in Finland by a Finnish translator and published simultaneously in New York and London, the later translation was made in the United States by an American translator and published by an organisation dedicated to publishing Finnish literature translated into English. It was further argued that the production of the first translation was characterised by the influence of national romantic artistic trend, which would also affect the translation in such a way that its Finnishness would be emphasised.

Proper names were approached as culture-specific references, or markers which identify an entity within the source culture which is meaningful only to those under the influence of the source culture. Proper names were categorised into localising names created by Aleksis Kivi specifically for the novel which locate the story of the novel in Finland, and authenticating names which refer to existing, non-fictional markers of the Finnish source culture such as towns, provinces, non-fictional persons, and names which derive from Finnish folk mythology or which appear in other Finnish literary works. The translation of proper names was in turn examined through three strategies: those that retain the original name and its Finnishness, those that make the Finnishness of the original proper names more accessible for the target audience, and finally those that re-create a completely new name.

The translations were examined according to Gideon Toury's DTS methodology which calls for an examination of the translations against the background of the time and place of their publication. A superficial examination of the translators' prefaces and their ways of dealing with the archaic language of the original novel as well as its Finnish proverbs suggested that the overall strategies of the two translations were clearly different. Observing James Holmes' division of global strategies into exoticising and naturalising, it was suggested that the earlier translation adopted an exoticising strategy and aimed at highlighting the foreignness of the source text. The later translation was, in turn, seen to observe a naturalising global strategy aiming at hiding the source text's foreignness.

The analysis of proper names revealed the translations were different also in regard to the way in which they treated proper names as culture-specific references. It also became clear that the context in which the Finnish proper name appeared in had a great influence on the choice of the local translation strategy. The later translation from 1991 by Richard Impola was found to observe the outlined naturalising strategy in that it employed all three local strategies in such a way that none of them stood out as clearly the most prominent one. This finding led to the conclusion that the later translation takes the needs of the American Finnish target audience into account by paying attention to the context of the Finnish proper names and choosing an appropriate strategy to convey the primary culture-specific connotation of the name.

The earlier translation from 1929 by Alex Matson did not, however, indisputably conform to the exoticising global strategy since, in it, the most prominent strategy was re-creation. Also the influence of national romanticism was called into question as it was discovered that all names referring to Finnish folk mythology or the national epic *Kalevala* were, in fact, re-created. Furthermore, the earlier translation did not employ the assimilative strategy nearly to the same extent than the later translation, and this suggests that it dealt with the original proper names by either highlighting or hiding their Finnishness, thus not taking the target audience's need for making the Finnishness more accessible for them into account.

The strength of the present study has been the simple and repeatable method which efficiently brought out the differences between two translations of the same source text. The most obvious shortcoming in turn has been the fact that the quantitative analysis employed in the study inevitably left most of the semantic nuances that names and naming always involve aside. This thesis nevertheless offers an array of feasible ideas for further study. For example, translational norms have not been included in this study even though examining translations for patterns constitutes an essential part of the manipulation theory as well as Toury's DTS methodology. Therefore trying to examine how, for example, national romanticism affected the norms of translating Finnish classic literature might offer an interesting field of study. However, the study of translational norms would require much more background study on 19th-century Finnish literature and its translations into various different languages.

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